

University of Bomba

GUJARĀTÎ LANGUAGE  
AND  
LITERATURE

VOL II

BEING THE  
WILSON PHILOLOGICAL LECTURES  
DELIVERED BY  
N. B. DIVATIÀ, B.A. (BOMBAY)

FOR THE UNIVERSITY OF BOMBAY  
MACMILLAN AND COMPANY, LIMITED  
BOMBAY, CALCUTTA, MADRAS AND LONDON

1932

Printed by Natvaril Itcharam Desai & A, at  
the Gujarati Printing Press, Sasoon Buildings,  
Elphinstone Circle, Fort Bombay No 1  
and Published by F. E. Francis, Manager  
Macmillan & Co, Ltd, fort, Bombay  
for the University of Bombay

TO  
MY REVERED *GURU*

SIR RAMAKRISHNA GOPAL BHANDARKAR, K.C.S.I

M. A., PH. D., LL. D.

HON. M. R. A. \*

I DEDICATE

3

WITH HIS KIND PERMISSION

THIS HUMBLE WORK

THE FRUIT OF STUDIES INSPIRED BY HIS TEACHING

## PREFACE.

Just a few words of explanation. These Lectures were delivered in 1915-16 A. D. The first Volume was published in 1921 A. D. In the preface to it I stated that the second Volume would be out twelve months later. This expectation could not be realized all these years. The second volume appears after a very long interval,—nearly a decade. All this delay was due to a number of causes, delay in the press, my continued indifferent health and other unexpected hindrances. I am aware that no inconvenience was likely to accrue by this prolongation of time, except to some University students and persons looking forward to, and from time to time inquiring after, the probable publication. My apologies are due to them, which I offer here sincerely. But I can also mention certain compensations in the form of important additions and alterations and revisions made subsequent to 1915 A. D. which I trust will be found useful, although occasionally introducing anachronisms in a way.

With these words of explanation, I place before my appreciative readers the fruits of my labours extending over four decades and more.

“Dilkush” Bungalow  
Santa Cruz, }  
1931 }

N. B. DIVATIA

# INTRODUCTION TO GUJARATI LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE VOLUMES I & II

The greater portion of these Lectures of mine deal with Gujarati language as distinct from Gujarati literature, and that too with the physical side of language and not its metaphysical side. For philology is mainly concerned with the physical constitution of language. It is rarely that its metaphysical aspect steps in; thus, for instance, when the two evolutes of દીક્ષા viz. દીક્ષા and દીક્ષાર્થ are restricted in sense to particular denotation, the former meaning "fair in complexion" and the latter meaning "a particular deity" or, when we read the sense of "a hand" in હાથ (traced back to હાય-હાત) and that of "a handle" in હાથ (traced back to હાય-હાત), the morphological evolution gets intertwined with the sense of words that lies beyond their physical formation. This being so, we are concerned with Gujarati language in its place in the field of philology. There was a time when people questioned, and perhaps even now some persons may question, the title of Gujarati language to be treated philologically. The present lectures, it is hoped, will furnish an adequate answer to such questioning.

We may, therefore, at the outset inquire into the nature and functions of philology. Philology, then, may be concisely defined as the science of language. It deals with the origin and gradual evolution of language. It will be necessary, therefore, first to know what language means. Language may be defined as the articulate expression of human thought by means of human speech. This definition will at once exclude on the one hand, the various modes of feeble expression observed in the case of animals, and, on the other, the inarticulate sounds used by man, otherwise than with the desire of expressing thoughts. The so-called monkey language, alleged to have been discovered, investigated and used by a traveller, could never in reality have been language in the true sense of the word, for the double reason that it was neither articulate in sound nor

*The meaning and  
function of language*

articulate in sense. The sounds for which sense was claimed were crude and vague, and the sense did not go beyond the most primary feelings and it never reached the stage of categorical thinking which Sweet appositely terms<sup>1</sup> logical articulation it represented at best a most undeveloped state of intelligence.

Our definition of language will also exclude loose and metaphorical expressions like the language of natural scenery or speechless expression of various grades and shades of human feelings. People are in the habit of saying how eloquently a rose speaks to you when all that is meant is that it affects your imagination, memory and some other faculty in an appealing way so as to wake up peculiar associations, and suggests original reflections. When the poet said that to him "the meanest flower that blows can give thoughts that do often lie too deep for tears" he was within the bounds of a poet's privilege without trenching on the precincts of logical thought expression. And when he reads 'books in running brooks and sermons in stones' he does not claim for them any language in its scientific sense, but only a power of suggestiveness expressed only in metaphorical brevity and pithiness. Philology discards all such flowery expressions and assumes the role of a heartless, dry-as-dust, investigator.

In my definition of language I have confined its scope to thought,

*Language Its scope does not extend to feeling it is confined to thought* and on set purpose excluded feeling. For feeling *per se* cannot be the subject of language as a science and in so far as feelings can form the subject of linguistic expression they properly and strictly belong to the sphere of thought. For instance, you may be able to express love, hate

and various other feelings without the aid of language, but as soon as you wish to express the underlying ideas of those feelings they come within the province of thought in such shape as "love", "hate" and similar expressions. Language cannot express feelings as such but only our ideas of feelings.

1 'The History of Language' p 2 Sweet goes the length of saying, that the human interjections, though representing an idea, or even a sentence, are not logical articulations. I am afraid he ignores the function of अप्रति in words.

Generally speaking, the expression of one's thoughts presupposes

or requires for their reception some person or persons other than the party expressing them.

*Language presupposes social surroundings.*

If we accept this condition, soliloquy would be excluded from the scope of language. For lan-

guage is the vehicle for conveying or communicating human thought, and conveyance or communication necessarily implies an opposite party, a correlation between the speaker and the spoken to. However, in as much as soliloquy is capable of reduction to linguistic form and also capable of being understood definitely, and in so far as it amounts to thinking aloud i. e. clothing one's thoughts in words which are an expression of thought, we may justify the inclusion of soliloquy under the purview of the term language by resorting to the reasonable fiction that the other party in this case is a projection of one's self self speaking to self, the one is thinker, the other the addressed. For the rest, the social instinct of man is one of the chief conditions under which language must have arisen. Man is an intelligent and sentient being, and neither his intellectual activity nor his emotional changes can remain suppressed, they will call for a way out. Self expression is an inevitable human function. Just as feeling seeks out its expression by means of gestures, gesticulations, facial changes, tender caresses and the like, even so human thought, in its progress toward expression beginning with gestures, signs and symbols found eventually the most successful mode of escape and conveyance in what we know as language proper. It may be an inadequate vehicle hitherto possessed by man. This thought-expression, as just now observed, supposes the existence of a social surroundings, soliloquy being only an exceptional aspect of self expression.

Thus may lead us into two opposite theories regarding the origin of language, - the spontaneous theory and the theory of convention.

*Two theories about language Spontaneity and Convention.* While, on the one hand, it is inconceivable how the several words in a language could have been derived for the expression of the inherent ideas by the mere spontaneous process of the human will, it is, on the other hand

equally difficult to imagine a social group of men sitting in solemn conclave and assigning individual names to individual objects and thoughts observed and conceived by them. The description of Adam in the "Paradise Lost," giving a word name to each animal passing in a sort of a *levee* procession, may at the first glance appear something like a ludicrous proceeding. But we are able to read into it the essence of the spontaneous theory of the origin of language. The fault of arbitrary assignment of meaning can be laid at the door of the convention theory equally with the spontaneous theory. And after all why should it be called a fault? At some original date or other name-giving must have been an arbitrary process more or less. As a child of hardly ten years of age once remarked to her father, "Is not language merely a matter of guess-work (ग़ज़ो)?" "What do you mean?" asked the father. The child explained "Here is a गाय (cow), for instance, when men called it by that name in the beginning, what did they do but make a mere shot! (गाय ज मारी करी?)". Perhaps a compromise between the spontaneous and convention theories is likely to hit the mark. It is probable that in the beginning the force of associations, assisted by the powers of imagination and invention, as also a certain amount of involuntary expressions by individual men, gave rise to words which were instinctively understood by other men and at once accepted by them and they gradually passed into currency, which is a form of convention.

Dr H. Mutshmann<sup>2</sup> accounts for the origin of language in the following manner —

"Speech must be explained as born out of man's psyche, by a slow and complicated yet subconscious process. *A synthesis of the two theories* The primary cause of language-making is a desire for communication, the same that gives rise to the calls and warning signals of animals and the songs of birds. Just as there are certain natural gestures and facial expressions common to all members of a community readily practised and

<sup>2</sup> Article contributed by him to Jack's "Self-Educator," edited by H. O. O'Neill, pp. 86 ff.

understood by all, so there exist certain natural sounds and combinations of sounds used for the purpose of communicating one's sensations and thoughts. These man has in common with many animals. But a great step in advance which separated human from animal speech, was made when these original and natural tones were conventionalized, when their usual application were extended to objects and actions connected though not identical with the idea or sensations originally described."

Here is a synthesis of the two theories-spontaneity and convention-regarding the origin of language.

*Silent face expression more powerful than speech* Incidentally with reference to the question of a desire for communication, I may point out that

silent face and eye expression are very often more powerful than speech, as in the case of love, joy, grief, etc. Sometimes gestures like dancing and jumping symbolize this concentrated power. Similarly inarticulate sounds are more expressive than speech, e.g. kiss-sound, the cooing intonation of human lovers, the moaning and crying of persons in pain or grief. These or most of them are shared by man and animal in common, for they constitute synthetic phenomena. When, however, it comes to the stage of analytic phenomena, thought-expression, even synthesis finally bursting out into analysis, then comes the power of language and its true function, e.g. when the cooing lover says 'Oh! How I love you.' What is lost in synthesis is gained in analysis and vice versa. The balance of gain and loss varies according to circumstances.

We need not go into several other theories such as the *bow-wow*-theory of language, the *ding-dong* theory, the

*Various other theories of the origin of language.* the *pool-pool* theory and the like, but we may just touch the *Echo-echo* theory finally adopted

by Max Muller who explained that "under any strong, muscular effort and, one might add, intellectual and emotional strain it is a relief to the system to let breath come out strongly and repeatedly. When primitive acts were performed in common they would naturally be accompanied by the same sound, which

equally difficult to imagine a social group of men sitting in solemn conclave and assigning individual names to individual objects and thoughts observed and conceived by them. The description of Adam in the "Paradise Lost," giving a word name to each animal passing in a sort of a levee procession, may at the first glance appear something like a ludicrous proceeding. But we are able to read into it the essence of the spontaneous theory of the origin of language. The fault of arbitrary assignment of meaning can be laid at the door of the convention theory equally with the spontaneous theory. And after all why should it be called a fault? At some original date or other name giving must have been an arbitrary process more or less. As a child of hardly ten years of age once remarked to her father, "Is not language merely a matter of guess-work (गग्पी)?" "What do you mean?" asked the father. The child explained, "Here is a गाय (cow), for instance, when men called it by that name in the beginning, what did they do but make a mere shot? (गग्प ज मारी कनी?)" Perhaps a compromise between the spontaneous and convention theories is likely to hit the mark. It is probable that in the beginning the force of associations, assisted by the powers of imagination and invention, as also a certain amount of involuntary expressions by individual men, gave rise to words which were instinctively understood by other men and at once accepted by them and they gradually passed into currency, which is a form of convention.

Dr H. Mutshmann<sup>2</sup> accounts for the origin of language in the following manner —

"Speech must be explained as born out of man's psyche, by a slow and complicated yet subconscious process. *A synthesis of the two theories* The primary cause of language making is a desire for communication, the same that gives rise to the calls and warning signals of animals and the songs of birds. Just as there are certain natural gestures and facial expressions common to all members of a community readily practised and

<sup>2</sup> Article contributed by him to Jack's "Self-Educator," edited by H. C. O'Neill, pp. 86 ff.

understood by all, so there exist certain natural sounds and combinations of sounds used for the purpose of communicating one's sensations and thoughts. These man has in common with many animals. But a great step in advance which separated human from animal speech, was made when these original and natural tones were conventionalized, when their use and application were extended to objects and actions connected though not identical with the idea or sensations originally described.'

Here is a synthesis of the two theories-spontaneity and convention-regarding the origin of language.

*Silent face expression more powerful than speech* Incidentally with reference to the question of a desire for communication, I may point out that silent face and eye expression are very often more powerful than speech, as in the case of love, joy, grief, etc. Sometimes gestures like dancing and jumping symbolize this concentrated power. Similarly inarticulate sounds are more expressive than speech, e.g. kiss-sound, the cooing intonation of human lovers, the meaning and crying of persons in pain or grief. These or most of them are shared by man and animal in common, for they constitute synthetic phenomena. When, however, it comes to the stage of analytic phenomena, thought-expression, even synthesis finally bursting out into analysis, then comes the power of language and its true function e.g. when the cooing lover says "Oh! How I love you." What is lost in synthesis is gained in analysis and vice versa. The balance of gain and loss varies according to circumstances.

We need not go into several other theories, such as the *boor-boor*

*Various other theories of the origin of language* theory of language, the *ding-dong* theory, the the *pooh-pooh* theory and the like, but we may just touch the *Ye-he-ho* theory finally adopted

by Max Muller who explained that "under any strong muscular effort and, one might add, intellectual and emotional strain it is a relief to the system to let breath come out strongly and repeatedly. When primitive acts were performed in common they would naturally be accompanied by the same sounds, which

easily become associated with the action performed, and serve as a 'root to denote it'

Dr. Mutshmann observes on this -All this is hardly satisfactory, but before leaving this interesting subject it might be well to quote the words of a more recent scholar, Prof Jespersen, who sums up his treatise on the origin of language, as follows —

*Theory of the significance of words.* "The genesis of language is not to be sought in the prosaic, but in the poetic side of life, the source of speech is not gloomy seriousness, but merry play and youthful hilarity in primitive speech I

hear the laughing cries of exultation when lads and lasses vied with one another, to attract the attention of the other sex, when every body sang his merriest and danced his bravest to lure a pair of eyes to throw admiring glances in his direction Language was born in the courting days of mankind, the first utterances of speech, I fancy to myself like something between the mighty love lyrics of puss upon the tiles and the melodious songs of the nightingale"

We all know that the notes of singing birds, and all other notes and sounds among the animal world, are but sex-calls to the mate This idea and Max Muller's concluding theory quoted just above carries us to a still more unique theory advanced by another philologist, H Sperber (Upsala), who states "Sexual needs have played the largest part in the origin and development of languages The first sounds served as means of communication, and called the sexual partner, the further development of the roots of a/speech accompanied the performance of the primitive man's work This work was communal and progressed to the accompaniment of rhythmically repeated word sounds In that way a sexual interest was transferred to the work The primitive man made work acceptable at the same time that he used it as an equivalent and substitute for sex-activity The word thus called forth by the common labour had two meanings, designating the sex-act as well as the equivalent labor-activity In time the word became developed from its sexual

significance and became fixed on this work. Generations later the same thing happened to a new word that once had sexual significance and came to be used for a new type of work. In this manner a number of word roots were formed, all of sexual origin, and all of which had lost their sexual significance'.<sup>3</sup>

It will be easily seen that all these various theories, when not fanciful, are really one-sided and halting. They all the theories  
one-sided explain only a phase of speech effort. In none of the theories are the synthetic and analytic phases duly examined or properly separated and correlated. Nor is the link between them discovered. Only He can conceive the whole nature of language of whom it is truly said

यतोवाचोनिवर्त्तते अपात्य मवस्ता सद्

There is one aspect of language of which no note is taken in any of the views hitherto discussed above. It pertains to the complicated question whether the words in a sentence express individual and disconnected ideas and objects primarily, leaving the connecting thread of syntax for a secondary expression, or whether the syntactical idea of the sentence as a whole is expressed primarily and individual objects and ideas come out secondarily. A good deal depends on the proper solution of this question in the determination of the origin of words in a language. Dr. William Wallace in his *Prolegomena to the Study of Hegel's Philosophy* deals with this point thus

"Investigation of primitive language seems to show that words as we know them in separate existence are a secondary formation, and that the first significant speech was an utterance intended to describe a scene, an action, a phenomenon, or complex of events.

"When disintegration begins the result is as follows— The elements of the group, having now become independent words held

3. "General Introduction to Psycho-analysis" by Prof. Sigmund Freud, p. 133.

together by the syntax of the sentence, are adopted to denote the several objects which entered into the total phenomenon”

Here is an attempt at a synthesis of the two theories well-known in our Mimansā philosophy, viz. अन्विताभिधानवाद and अभिदिताच्यवाद. From our point of view it is clear that these two theories pertain to a scrutiny of the interpretation of a sentence and its components rather than an inquiry into the primary source of words, the origin of language. We may therefore leave this psychological inquiry aside.

We leave the subject of language as an independent item, and come to philology in its restricted sphere. It, Comparative Philology a science of recent date especially comparative philology, is a science of relatively recent date. It was practically unknown in ancient India.

In those times free interchange of linguistic or literary activity with outsiders was shut out. Stray references to the Parthians and Persians, e.g. in the text पुष्पकः in Rig Veda, VII-83, or the Greek contact during the five centuries before Christ indicate mere occasional contact, not any free intercourse such as could awaken the philological sense. Nor could an occasionally stray reference like that in Kātyāyana's *śāstrikā* on Panini IV: 49 (यज्ञास्त्रिपुष्पकः) to the Greek script (γράμμα) which, no doubt shows that in the 8th Century B.C. (Panini's date) or at least in the fourth century B.C. (Kātyāyana's date) India was familiar with this foreign script, justify a sudden conclusion that philology was a known or cultivated science then,—I mean comparative philology particularly, for the forms of isolated philology can be discovered in the attempts at derivation of words made by Yāska. Dr R. G. Bhāskarākar, (Lectures pp. 4-5), no doubt credits the Black Yajurveda and the Brahmanas with linguistic study and the investigations into the relation between Sanskrit and Prakrit in our Prakrit grammars are a distinct advance towards one branch of philology. But Comparative Philology must, after all, be admitted as a science of relatively recent date.

4 Goldstücker (*Pāṇini*, pp. 16-17) holds that the word γράμμα refers, not to the Greek script but, to the Persian script, or, probably, to the cuneiform writing.

The application of the principles of Comparative Philology to

*The place of Indian Vernaculars in Comparative Philology*

Indian Vernaculars is of a still more recent date, one of the earliest workers in this field being Mr. Berme. With him and since his times may be mentioned the names of Dr. Horne, Sir George Grierson, Dr. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar,

If H. Dhruva, Sastri Vrajalal Kaliidas, and others, to which list must be added the name of the late Dr. Teasator, a scholar of eminence and ability who made Gujarati and Marathi his special study. For a fuller mention of other workers in this field Dr. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's Lectures, pp. 4-7 may be referred to.

Comparative Philology necessarily implies a method of inquiry

which requires an examination of the relation between different human languages, the principles which affect their evolution individually and the deduction of principles of general application. This method naturally presupposes a critical basis for its working. Conclusions must be arrived at on data of proved value, and

verified by recognized canons of logical evidence. And yet too often do we find errors in the conclusions of philologists, due sometimes to prejudice, sometimes to one-sided vision and sometimes to pre-conceived notions. I need not cite instances. I have occasionally dealt with some of them in the course of these lectures.

This consideration leads to the interesting question of the relative position of Indian scholars and European philologists in the matter of the philological investigations into Indian Vernaculars. Both sides possess advantages and disadvantages which grow out of their peculiar position and outlook. J. D. Anderson in one of his articles tells us

"Mr. Berme's example shows that foreigners can render good service by calling attention to matters which escape the notice of natives from sheer familiarity".

5. "Mr. Rabindranath Tagore's Notes on Bengali Grammar", J. R. A. S., 1919, p. 542

This claim for Mr Beames work has certain limitations, which will be visible in my discussions in the present Lectures where I have discussed his theories and views in various connections. I make this statement with a full and greatful recognition of the services rendered by that profound scholar. On the other hand, I may quote another portion from the same article of J. D. Anderson

<sup>6</sup> Mr Tagore recognizes that in the phonetics, grammar and etymology of Indian Languages is a field of inquiry in which Indians and Europeans can be of use to one another. The European brings to the study some experience of comparative methods, some knowledge of the new means of recording phonetic facts now in use in Europe. The Indian can investigate and state the elusive realities of his own speech with an authority which no foreigner can claim. <sup>7</sup>

These remarks can be illustrated by the error into which Śāstri Vrajalal Kalidasa has run with regard to the derivations of वस्तु, वाप<sup>8</sup> and other words on the one hand, and that into which Dr Sten Konow has run with regard to the cause for the symbol ज्य in ज्यानाल, <sup>9</sup> on the other.

The science of philology is primarily concerned with the physical aspect of language. The nature of different sounds, their classification, their evolution in the course of the history of words, these and such matters form the subject of inquiry for this science. It has very little to do with the psychological side of language. Sweet draws attention to the duality of form and meaning constituting respectively the *formal* and the *logical* (or psychological) side of language. He says

"Although language is inconceiveable without this polarity of form and meaning it is often convenient and even necessary to look at language from more or less one-sidedly formal or logical point of view as the case may be. The study of the formal side of language

<sup>6</sup> Ibid n 5, p 9

<sup>7</sup> See pp 83, and 337 n. 145 of the 1st Volume of these Lectures

<sup>8</sup> See pp. 345-346 of same

is based on phonetics,—science of speech-sounds, the study of the logical side of language is based on *psychology*—the science of mind' 9

We are at once reminded by the above extract, especially

*The two sides inseparable and yet separable in philology.* Sweet's assertion that language is inconceivable without the polarity of form and meaning,—we are reminded by this, of the immortal words of Kālidāsa in which he compares the close union between Pārvati and Śiva to that between speech and sense

यागर्थं विव संदृक्षौ वागर्थं प्रतिपत्तये ।  
जगतः पितरौ दन्दे पार्वतीपरमेष्ठरौ ॥

But, as just observed, philology has to perform the surgical operation of separating the two aspects of language and dealing almost entirely with its formal aspect. It confines its investigation to word formations in which thought lies clothed. For instance, philology, in its examination of the several steps through which the word फ़ाटि passed,—कपित्य, बद्धित्तु, कर्त्तु, कर्त, करू, बद्धि, फ़ाटि, does not for a moment concern itself with the idea of the fruit which the word signifies, or, when it compares Skr. पितृ-मातृ with Lat. *Pater-Mater*, Persian *pidar-malar*, Eng. *father-mother*, etc., it does not think of the domestic or natural relations which the ideas underlying the words deal with, its whole gaze is fixed on the sound formations which characterize the physical evolution of the words concerned. I have, in my opening remarks already recognized the existence of exceptional conditions, such as in the case of गौरी-गोरी, गर्व्य-हस्त-हाप, हस्तक-हापो, where the variation in meaning results from the formal aspect of the words.

The present volumes professedly deal with Gujarāti language

*The scheme of these Lectures, some special features of Gujarāti.* in its relation to comparative philology and internal evolution. The scheme adopted is to lay down certain *utsargas* which govern that evolution and incidentally to discuss certain special features in the language which mark its

This claim for Mr Beames work has certain limitations, which will be visible in my discussions in the present Lectures where I have discussed his theories and views in various connections. I make this statement with a full and greatful recognition of the services rendered by that profound scholar. On the other hand, I may quote another portion from the same article of J D Anderson

"Mr. Tagore recognizes that in the phonetics, grammar and etymology of Indian Languages is a field of inquiry in which Indians and Europeans can be of use to one another. The European brings to the study some experience of comparative methods, some knowledge of the new means of recording phonetic facts now in use in Europe. The Indian can investigate and state the elusive realities of his own speech with an authority which no foreigner can claim."<sup>6</sup>

These remarks can be illustrated by the error into which Śūstri Vrajalāl Kālidāsa has run with regard to the derivations of पर्सः, वापि<sup>7</sup> and other words, on the one hand, and that into which Dr Sten Konow has run with regard to the cause for the symbol उपि in उपाचारः,<sup>8</sup> on the other

The science of philology is primarily concerned with the physical aspect of language. The nature of different sounds, their classification, their evolution in the course of the history of words, these and such matters form the subject of inquiry for this science. It has very little to do with the psychological side of language. Sweet draws attention to the duality of form and meaning, constituting respectively the *formal* and the *logical* (or psychological) side of language. He says

"Although language is inconceiveable without this polarity of form and meaning, it is often convenient and even necessary to look at language from more or less one-sidedly formal or logical point of view as the case may be. The study of the formal side of language

6. Ibid n 5, p 9

7. See pp 83, and 337 n. 145 of the 1st Volume of these Lectures

8. See pp 345-346 of same

is based on phonetics,—science of speech sounds, the study of the logical side of language is based on *psychology* the science of mind<sup>9</sup>

We are at once reminded by the above extract, especially

*The two sides inseparable and yet separable in philology.* Sweet's assertion that language is inconceivable without the polarity of form and meaning,—we are reminded by this, of the immortal words of Kālidāsa in which he compares the close union between Pārvati and Śiva to that between speech and sense

वाग्यांविव संयुक्ते वाग्प्रतिपत्तये ।

जगतः पितरौ वन्दे पार्वतीपरमेष्ठौ ॥

But, as just observed, philology has to perform the surgical operation of separating the two aspects of language and dealing almost entirely with its formal aspect. It confines its investigation to word formations in which thought lies clothed. For instance, philology, in its examination of the several steps through which the word फ़ि passed,—क्षिप्त, क्षिति, क्षिति, क्षिति, फ़ि, क्षिति, does not for a moment concern itself with the idea of the fruit which the word signifies, or, when it compares Skr. पितृ-मातृ with Lat. *Pater-Mater*, Persian *pidar-mādar*, Eng. *father-mother*, etc., it does not think of the domestic or natural relations which the ideas underlying the words deal with, its whole gaze is fixed on the sound formations which characterize the physical evolution of the words concerned. I have, in my opening remarks already recognized the existence of exceptional conditions, such as in the case of गौरी-गोरी, गर्व्य-हस्त-हाथ, हस्तक-हाथ, where the variation in meaning results from the formal aspect of the words.

The present volumes professedly deal with Gujarāti language

*The scheme of these Lectures, come special features of Gujarāti.* in its relation to comparative philology and internal evolution. The scheme adopted is to lay down certain *utsargas* which govern that evolution and incidentally to discuss certain special features in the language which mark its

individuality, of these the most noteworthy are (1) the Sanskrit and Prakrit sounds of ચ, છ, જ, ઝ, ( pp 340-359 Vol 1 ), (2) the wide sound of એ and ઓ (pp 129 to 187-Vol I), and (3) the recognition of, and the regulated position of દ્વકાર in a class of words hitherto unrecognized by orthodox opinion (pp 283 to 316 Vol. I). The two sounds of ક and કુ, strong and weak, are also dealt with for the first time, they exist in the language but are ignored by the orthodox school. An instance will show the actual state of things a child of six, quite unsophisticated by phonetic "heresies", once observed, "—માઁ તો દા કદે છે" ( ક pronounced as strong), 'તુ તો દા કંદુ કુ ' ( ક pronounced weak)' The child observed and noted the difference between the strong and the weak દ્વકાર, and recognized the presence of the latter as the true sound. A child's instincts furnish a sure test in such cases. The same child noted the Gujarati sound of ફ as distinguished from the English or Persian sound of f remarking, as before "I say ફરદુ " (Guj ફ ), he says ફરદુ " (foreign f ) " My point is that these peculiarities are not artificial superimpositions but come natural to the unsophisticated child's observation and practice

In the course of my discussions, I have occasionally entered into long diversions as in the case of the origin of ઝ ( pp 248 to 264 of Vol. I ), the જાન્ત અકાર ( pp 206 to 214 Vol I ), and the peculiar feature in the word યુફા (where the pure aspirate of યુદ્ધ �reverts to the class aspirate ફ ),—(pp. 299-307 of Vol. I ). The last mentioned view is placed before scholars with a certain diffidence and deference, being a view presented for the first time in comparative Philology.

In the course of my preliminary remarks in Lecture III, I have stressed the necessity in the case of philology of limiting the condition insisted on by physical sciences for purposes of induction,—the condition, namely, that a sufficiently large number of instances must be present for establishing a particular theory, and ( pp 88-89 ) cited as exceptions the cases of

*Condition requisite for laying down utsargas in phonetics*

*A noteworthy exception: the derivation of 'Surat.'*

શર્દીય and કાદમણું. These are extreme cases of exception, having only one or two available instances. That being so, latitude can be claimed for *utsargas* which cover a limited number of instances, e. g. the one about the change of જ to ત (p. 463 Vol I) which has only three instances for Gujarati! However, I believe, it will be possible to add to instances even in such cases by diligent discovery or accidental inspiration. Thus, in the case of this very *utsarga* (change of જ to ત) a very interesting addition can be made, interesting philologically and historically, the historical side lending weight to the philological one. I mean the word સુરત, the name of the well-known city of Sûrat. It can be derived thus સંયુર-સરજુર-સરત(પુર)-સુરત. This has an illuminating story beneath it. The river Tâpf, (Tapti), is known as Tapati (તપતી) in Khandesh District where it skirts the northern boundary of Akrâni portion of Nandurbar Tofuka, though it is known as Tâpf in Sûrat which stands on its bank. This Tapati is the name of the daughter of the Sun-God, as the *MahâBhârata* tells us. On the bank of the river, opposite to Sûrat is the village of Rander, which seems to be derived from Rannade, Rannâ-devî, Râjñî devî (the wife of the Sun-God). Thus we have the city of the Sun-God, the goddess Rannâdevî (represented by the village, Rander), and between the two runs their daughter, Tapati. Thus by the derivation of સુરત from સુરજ the *utsarga* about the change of જ to ત stands vindicated.<sup>10</sup>

The treatment in these Volumes consists of laying down and illustrating certain *utsargas* which govern the formations of Gujarati words in their journey

*Antiquity of the principles underlying some utsargas* from Apahramî, through post-Apahramî (called O. W. Rajasthani by Dr. Tessitori and

10 I owe this theory about સુરજ, તપતી and રાણી to a friend who was assisting in the compilation of the Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, years ago. This derivation, સંયુર, is mentioned in the Gazetteer of the Surat District, but the full significance given above does not find a place there.

which I designate by the name of Gurjara Apabhramṣa) This being the main feature, the Sanskrit originals come in simply to mark the primary source. Occassionaly, however, I have noted the operation of certain *utsargas*, or their underlying principles in Sanskrit or sometimres as far back as the Vedic stage. Thus the Prakrit sound of the palatals already referred to above in a different connection, can be traced back to उन्दू which, by its dento-palatal sound of व connects itself with वेन्द पात् which in Avesta, is पात्, and so forth (See p. 348 n 114 in Vol I) Again, I have hinted at the possible working of the combined process of apherisis and aphaesis in त्व as a word later than त्वा॒ (p. 373, Vol I). I would add the reference (at pp. 470-471 of Vol I) to the weak *anusvāra* (a noteable Apabhramṣa and Gujarati feature) tracing itself back to the Vedic रंगा, e. g. खे अर्टि in Rigveda VIII-77-3, which are likened in the *Pāṇiniya Sikṣā* to the sound of the *anusvāra* in तर्तु॑ uttered by the woman-seller of whey in Sorastra. The *sūtra* ३, Pāṇini I-1-18, and also VIII-१-५७ which recognizes दृषि॑ with a weak *anusvāra*, point to this feature in later Sanskrit.

All this points to the eternal Prākritization which went on since the earliest times, and was mainly the result of the mingling of the Aryans with non-Aryan races in India. That this Prākritization is but a natural process may be aptly illustrated by a single case of a child of six or seven who when I asked her to repeat the line नर्म भीरत्य तदेव तदिप राये गुरु प्राप्य pronounced गुरु॑ instantly as गरु॑. All the intervening phonetic processes between the Sanskrit and Gujarati words (गुरु and गरु), viz (1) the change of भ to भर् (2) the shifting of the त to the first syllable in the word, and (3) the fusion of गु॑ and रु॑ into गु॑ had their operation simultaneously in the child's mouth, quite as a synthetic process. No wonder that Hemachandra accepted this synthetic process by bodily giving गरु॑ as a ready-made *ādēśa* of गुरु॑ in his *sūtra* गुरु॑ गरु॑ गरु॑ ॥ VIII-11-144

Of course, I am so far speaking about the philological portion of these lectures, which is the bulk portion.

*The script adopted in these lectures for Sanskrit, Prakrit and Gujarati words, an explanation.*

The introductory historical portion, and the lectures on Gujarati literature comprise the adjective part of this work, and need no extra mention. There is one question connected with the internal economy of these volumes which calls for an explanation, viz. the use of the *Nagari* script for the Sanskrit, Prakrit and Gujarati words and quotations. In a luminous and judicial article on "Transliteration vs. Indian Scripts" by J. D. Anderson (Modern Review, December 1918, pp. 567 ff.) he favors Indian scripts as beautiful, complete in alphabet, scientific in arrangement. But he finds one defect, he says the uninitial vowel, especially *अ*, is unexhibited, and there is the difficulty of showing the component parts of words, e.g. अनेक, here *an e a* would, according to him, be clearer. He suggests a compromise as under—

(a) Keep the indigenous script and spelling of each language for its literature—

but—

(b) For routine or erudition-as dictionary making grammar-writing and philology transliteration into the Romanic script should be adopted. For this he recommends the use of the script of the International Phonetic Association.

For this (b) his argument is that it tends to clearness and accuracy of thought and exposition, clearness of thought and speech and writing, small matters in themselves, but a step in the direction of that utter honesty of thought and statement which is the very basis of what we call science

Well, I have not found it convenient to follow the transliteration idea for diverse reasons. For one thing, the *Nagari* script is perfect in its expressiveness and compactness, no symbol is without

its function, and except only in rare instances (for vernacular peculiarities as in the case of the ultra-cerebral  $\tilde{z}$ - $\tilde{z}$  and the wide  $\tilde{v}$  and  $\tilde{w}$ ) calls for no diacritical marks, and above all it is less confusing owing to its synthetic form.

N. E. DIVATIA.

---

## CONTENTS.

( *The figures indicate pages* )

### LECTURE V (SECTION 1)

#### History of the Gujarati Language; Its Evolution 1-140.

State of the language prevalent in Gujarat in the eleventh century A. D. 1-2. Apahṛṣṭa had ceased to be a spoken language by the first half of the eleventh century A. D. 2. Internal evidence that Hemachandra's grammar dealt with Apaḥṛṣṭa as a dead language 2-5. Bilhāra's reference to the corrupt language of the Gurjaras aimed at the post Apaḥṛṣṭa language antecedent to that of the Mugdhāvahodha Auktika 5-14. Exceptional work possessing obsolete features, excluded from survey; reasons for such exclusion. 15-16. Prof. Turner's view as to the beginning of the simplified conjunct dissented from. 16. The Mugdhāvahodha Auktika, a steady beacon-light. The guiding tests supplied by it. 16-51.

Broad Tests to be applied in the examination of the various specimens. 51.

(A) First test; Distinctive phonetic features of the several linguistic stages 51-52. Post Apaḥṛṣṭa stage; two periods. 53-73. Earlier period. 53-68. The simplified conjunct. 53-54. Softening of the nasal. 54. Apherisis. 54-55. ऽ used as a termination 55-57. The psychological tautology िो करे ऐ compared with that in the coconjunctive participle. 57-60. The idiom of adding ने to the क्लान्त form traceable backwards upto the sixteenth century Vikrama era. 60-61. The earliest beginning of the type करे ऽ; from about 1500 V. S. 61-68. अ॒-अ॒ retained intact. 68. Later period. 69-73. (a) अ॒-अ॒ changed to ए-ओ. 69. (b) Non-final इ-उ changed to ए. 69. (c) change of ए to श. 70. (d) change of ल to इ. 70-72. आय् for इ य इ in passive formations. 72-73.

(B) Psychological changes in grammatical forms. 74-77.

(C) The analytic or synthetic nature of the forms marking the several periods. 77-90. The prominent part played in suffix construction by the roots meaning 'to go' 91-93.

(D) Special words of a distinctive nature. 93-128. તુ 94-97. અનુ and કેરુ 97. રા as a genitive termination. 98-100. ક. 100. ચો ચી ચુ, genitive termination 100-101. હુણ �Ahlative termination, or in absolute cases. 101-103. એકા ablative appendage, or absolute case 103-106. પાંદિ, પાંદિ, or પાંદ or પાંદ, as an ablative suffix. 106-108. ચા-Ablative ending. 109-111. મણો in the sense of "for=માટે" "therefore" 111-115. બાળો-નુ meaning (a) standing near, united (b) equal. 115-117. દેન=હેઠ affection. 117-118. તુજ in the sense of મુજને 118-119 રેનિ as a dative suffix. 119-121. રહ્યા, another dative suffix. 121-124. Did નાથ exist along with રહ્યા? Sir George Grierson's view discussed 124-126. The original nature of રહ્યા; its derivations. 126-128. Applications of the main tests and division of Gñjarātī language into distinctive periods 129-130.

### Supplement to Lecture V. (Section 1.) 131-140.

(I) Gurjara Apahhravsha, called Gaurvari by Pahlanji B Desai 131. (II) સૌલિક or બૌલિક? Dr. Fleet's error exposed, 131-132. (III) પુષ્પચર 132-133. (IV) Note to page 38, 133. (V) Note to page 43. 134. (VI) Note to page 56, 134. (VII) Note to page 56, 134. (VIII) Note to page 74. 134-136. (IX) Note to page 88, 136. (X) Note to page 94, 136. (XI) Note to page 97, 136. (XII) Note to page 98, 136. (XIII) Note to page 100, 137. (XIV) Note to page 101, 137. (XV) Note to page 105, 137. (XVI) Note to page 106, 137. (XVII) Note to page 112, 137-138. (XVIII) Note to page 112, 138. (XIX) Note to page 115, 138. (XX) Note to page 119, 138-139. Note A. The passive form in આણ 139-140. Note B. કરિજર and કરિયર. 140.

## LECTURE V (SECTION II).

History of the Gujarati Language; Its Evolution. 141-186.

Gujarati Case Terminations; their derivation 141-165.

The base in Gujarati. 141-143. The vocative. 143-145. Oblique case terminations, their groupings. 145-165. (I) The નુ group. 146-156. Derivation of નુ (genitive termination). 147. Dr. Tessitori's view stated, examined and dissented from. 148-150. The view examined and refuted 150-155. (II) The એ group 155-158. એ Instrumental-agentive 155-156. એ Locative termination 156-158. (III) The ablative એ-એરી and the માં terminations. 158-165. એ-એરી (ablative). 158-164. The locative termination માં 164-165. Note I. 165. Note II, 165.

Peculiarities of Gujarati Syntax. 166-180. Some special features of Gujarati in idioms etc. The forms of comparison. 167. એને આપણે. 167-169. Accent. 169-173. નથી-નાઈ. 173-174. ના નાઈ. 174. હવે હમણો. 174-175. The negative prefixes ન and ના. 175-176. Auxiliary verbs used to signify special features added to the action of the main verbs. 176-178. વાસળુસનારિ એણ Double-barrelled words. 178-180.

Spelling Reform. 180. Spelling system; its history 180-182. A fresh note of dissent from outside 182-183. Stray efforts at settling the question of spelling. 183. Action taken by the Educational Department 183-184.

---

Supplement to Lecture V. (Section II.) 184-186. I એ એરી 184-185. II કર-કર. 185. III The lengthening of ન to ના in vocative singular. 185-186 VI A peculiar use of the dative form in ને. 186. V, VI, VII and VIII additions. 186.

---

## LECTURE VI.

A Historical Sketch of Gujarātī Literature. 187-314.

When did Gujarātī language begin ? 187-207.

External evidence 188-189. The opinions of Sir George Grierson and H. H. Dhruva dissented from. 190-192. When was the name Gujarāt given to the province ? 192-199. The phonetic formation of the word ગુજરાત furnishes strong reasons. 194. Records mentioning ગુજરાત &c. 194-197. The nature of આ examined, 197-199. The significance of આ in ગુજરાત, 199-202.

Specimens from different Poets. 208-277. Narasinha Mehtā 208-213. Mirābāl 213-216. Kānhaḍadē-prabandha by Padmanābha. 216-218. Bhālaṇa 219-223. Vimala-prabandha. 223-224. Mādhavānala-dogdhaka-prabandha, 224-226. Nākara. 226-227. Viśvanātha Jāni. 229-231. Vishṇudāsa 231-232. Akho. 232-239. Tulasi. 239-242. Premānanda. 242-249. Vallabha. 249-252. Ratneśvara. 252-254. Pritama. 255. Revāśankara 255-257. Sāmāja. 257-261. Dhiro. 261-263. Dayārāma. 264-270. Review, 270-272. Modern literature 272-277.

Prosody in Gujarātī literature 278-306. Gujarātī prosody. 278. Classification of Gujarātī metres. 278. The Garabī 279-281. Essential constituents of metre. 291. Vedic metre. 282-283. Classic metre 283-286. Constituents of દેખીસ, ફર્સ &c. 286-287. Modern novelties in metre. 287-296. New elements in metrical signs. 296-302. Foreign prosody; its relation to Gujarātī prosody 302. English metre. 303-306.

Appendix A. So called *gamalī* attributed to Narsinha Mehtā. 307.

---

Supplement to lecture V (Section I). 308-311

Supplement to lecture V (Section II). 311-318.

Supplement to lecture VI. 314.

---

## LECTURE VII

## The Future Tendency of Gujarāti Language and Literature 315-345

A rapid retrospect of the last six lectures 315-325 A cursory view of modern literature 325 Results of the contact between the West and the East Distinction in effect between the earlier and the later types 325-326 A forecast of the future of our language and literature 326-327 Influence of Bengāli literature 328 Certain new forces and ideals influencing our literature, social service and political aspirations 328 Permanent ideals of universal value vs. Narrow aspirations 328-329 Language, Present territorial divisions of Gujarāta the peculiarities in their language 329-336. Sūtrati peculiarities 329-330 Kāthiāvadi peculiarities 330-336 Subsections like Charotara and Patana purposely excluded 336 Parsi Gujarati 336-339 Exceptional Parsi authors writing classical Gujarati 339-341 Sanskritised Gujarāti its merits and prospects 341-343 Future morphological word changes not probable 343 The principle of progressive evolution is not violated. 343-345

---

WILSON PHILOLOGICAL LECTURES  
ON  
GUJARĀTÎ LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE  
LECTURE V.

*History of the Gujarātî Language*  
*1st Evolution.*

(Continued)

In the last lecture, in sections I, II, and III, I placed before you the evolution of the Gujarātî language in its phonetic and morphological aspect. I propose now to deal with the evolution of Gujarātî from another point of view; viz. its historical progress, as disclosed by tests supplied by the phonetic and morphological conditions, in short, the stages which the language passed through as indicated by certain distinctive features marking its development.

Before entering upon this examination it will be profitable to glance at the state of the language that prevailed in Gujarat before Gujarātî assumed a distinctive shape, and the views held by others regarding the speech spoken in that country in their days. The well-known stanza<sup>1</sup> in the *Vikramāṅkadeva Charita* which ridicules the language of the

1 कक्षान्ध विदधति न ये सर्वदेवाविशुद्धा

सद्वापन्ते किमपि भजते यद् जुगुप्तारपदत्वम् ।

तेषां मार्गे परिव्यवशाद्विज्ञते गुर्बराणा

यः सतापं शिथिलमस्तोत् सोमनाथं विलोक्य ॥

The remark, कक्षान्ध etc., does not refer to the contrast between the dress of the Dakhani women and Gujarātî women, but to the tucking up of the *dhotar* common in men of Northern India as contrasted with the loose *dhotar* worn by men in Gujarat, for no specific mention is made of females here.

Gurjaras will show what Bilhana, an outsider, thought of the language spoken by the people of Gujrat in the latter half of the eleventh<sup>2</sup> century. This was when the Châlnkye Karṇa, father of Siddharâja Jayasînha, ruled over Gujrat. We know the language then spoken was certainly not our modern Gujratî, nor the early Gujratî known between Bhalana's and Premânda's times. The language disclosed by the *Mingdbhûvabodha* *Aulika* (V. S 1450)

*Apabhramsa had ceased to be a spoken language by the first half of the eleventh century A. D.*

had not developed then yet. Was it the *Apabhramsa* treated by Hemachandra in the last *Pâda* of his Prâkrit Grammar? I should think not. Dr. Tessitori is of the opinion<sup>3</sup> that the

*Apabhramsa* treated by Hemachandra had ceased to be a spoken language by the end of the tenth century A. D. He seems to be approximately right in this view. For, if Hemachandra dealt with a language that had ceased to be spoken, the very fact would require a gap of about one century between the language and the Grammar, and as Hemachandra flourished in the twelfth century A. D. (1088 A. D. to 1172 A. D.<sup>4</sup>) we may safely

*Internal evidence that Hemachandra's grammar dealt with Apabhramsa as a dead language.*

put the limit a little later than Dr. Tessitori puts it, and say the first half of the eleventh century A. D. saw the extinction of the *Apabhramsa* of Hemachandra's grammar. We

have internal evidence to support the view that Hemachandra was dealing, in his grammar, with a language that was not of the people, not of his time. In his gloss on *sûtra* VIII-ii-174 he says.—

भाषाशब्दाधृतं आहित्तं । लक्षणं । विहितं × × × × इत्यादयो महाराष्ट्र-  
रिदमादिदेशप्रसिद्धा लोकतोऽप्यगांतव्याः । कियाशब्दाधृतं । अवयासद् । उंडुल्लद् ।  
उपकालेऽप्यादयः ॥ अत एव कृष्णृष्ट यास्यप्रिदूस् वाचस्पति विष्ट्रथमस् प्रचंतम्

2. Dr. Bühler's *Introduction to the Vikramânakadera charita*

3. See his article in the *Indian Antiquary*, February 1914, P. 22.

4. Hemachandra wrote his grammar in A. D. 1112 (V. S 1168). See *Vrajñil Sâstri's Gujratî Bhâshâ no Itihâsa*, p. 40 (Edition of 1866 A. D.)

प्रोक्तप्रोतादीनां विवादिप्रत्ययान्तानां चाग्रिचित् सोमधुन् एषादस्तेत्यादीनां पूर्वं विभिरप्रयुक्तानां प्रतीतिरैप्यपरः प्रयोगो न कर्तव्य शब्दान्तरैरेव तु तद्योग्यभिषेय ॥ यथा कृष्णः कुशलः । वाचस्पतिर्गुरु ॥ विष्टरभ्या हरिरित्यादि ।

It will be seen from this that by the word भाषाशब्दा Hemachandra means *Desi* words spoken in several other provinces, and not Prakrit words, that the very fact of his warning against the Prakritising of words not used (in Prakrit form) by scholars (or poets) of by-gone times, and the expression प्रतीतिरैप्यपर show that the Prakrits were not spoken languages in Hemachandra's times<sup>5</sup>.

At another place Hemachandra approaches the matter from another point, and yet the inference is the same. In his gloss on *sutra* VIII 1-231 (पौव) he says —

5 Dr Sten Kosaow holds that the principal Prakrits were obsolescent in Rājasekhara's time (about A.D. 900) — *Vide* his essay on 'Rājasekhara's Life and Writings' in his edition of *Karpūra Manjari* (Harvard Oriental Series), p. 209, where he says —

"Finally, from the fact that Rājasekhara, who 'knew all languages', (17), did not correctly distinguish the different Prakrits, we may infer that the living knowledge of these dialects was at that time, considerably diminished".

Mirkandeya, who flourished after the first quarter of the fifteenth century A.D. (*Vide supra* Lec. IV, Section I p. 261), has a significant comment against Rājasekhara's Prakrit. In his *Prakrit-Sarvasra*, III-77 Mirkandeya speaks of किंवा as undergoing विलेप (विकर्षण as he calls it) giving कुरिया as the Prakrit form, and in his gloss he observes

शार्णम् वेष्टपत्रोण कदुकिमार्ह (कर्म्म १२४) इति राजेष्वरस्यापाठ एव।

कुरुकिम्या should have been कुरुकिरिया here grammatically. By अपाठ we have to understand अप्रयोग, for there is no room for a possible other reading, as कुरुकिया and not कुरुकिरिया will fit into the metrical scheme. Hemachandra excludes अप्य usage as in एव नाम कियादीर्ण (S. II 1 VIII n 104, gloss). But Rājasekhara's कुरुकिम्या can hardly be justified under this exclusion, not being in an अप्य writing. The only possible defence may be that कुरुकिम्या as a *samskr* may yield कुरुकिरिया under the altered conditions of a *samskr*. There is, however, no previous usage to support this defence. It is almost certain that Rājasekhara trips in phonetics because he writes artificially in a language that was dead or was obsolescent.

प्राय इत्येव ॥ वर्द्ध ॥ स्त्रिः । एतेन पक्षारत्य प्राप्तयोर्लोपवकारयोर्यस्मि-  
न्हृते श्रुतिसुप्रसुत्पत्त्वते स तत्र कार्यं ॥

There is no real conflict between this and the last-named direction. The latter direction is a complement of the former. Where there is a chance of conflict of the *sûtras* and a proper way out is not seen, you have to be guided by the श्रुतिसुख test, but that only where the usage of the people who once spoke the language now dead cannot be ascertained by a reference to the actual works of पूर्वकवि. If the Prâkrit had been spoken languages in his day, Hemchandra would have given popular usage (लोकप्रयोग) as the test. The language being dead he had to provide some principle for guidance for forming words for the benefit of persons wishing not to speak Prâkrit (for that was not needed, the language being dead) but to write books in the dead Prâkrits.

This conclusion is not vitiated by the frequent use by Hemachandra of the terms यथाप्रयोग (as in the gloss on VIII-II-159) and यथादर्शन (as in that on VIII-1-84) as guiding hints, for the प्रयोग and the दर्शन are meant to be found in hooka, not in लोकभाषा.

True, the indications above noted (viz पूर्वकविप्रयोग, प्रतीतिवैषम्य and श्रुतिसुख) are apparently in the gloss on *sûtras* dealing with Prâkrit proper, and not on those treating Apabhramsa separately. But as the chapter about the main Prâkrit covers all the languages subsequently treated, one being regarded as the प्रतीति of the other, there is good ground for taking these general principles for guidance as intended for Apabhramsa as well. In the chapter on Apabhramsa Hemachandra nowhere calls it by the name of भाषा nor does he refer the student to the लोकभाषा (as लोकाद्यगन्तव्य), but treats it by name, Apabhramsa, just as he deals with Sanskrit by its name and other languages also.

We need not, however, rely on inference merely. The Prâkrit *Digâśraya Kârya* (*Kumârapâlâ Charita*) is distinctly intended incidentally (and yet prominently and glowingly) to illustrate the several *sûtras* of the eighth *adhyâya* of *Siddha-Hemachandra* grammar, and it includes the portion on Apabhramsa also.

There would have been no necessity to illustrate Apabhramṣa rules in this manner, if it had been a spoken language when the grammar was written by Hemachandra.

The language, then, which Bilhana refers to must be a *post-Apabhramṣa* language, a stage between Apabhramṣa and the language of the *Mugdhabodha Auktika*, which has evolved from Apabhramṣa. Fixing the final period of spoken Apabhramṣa about the first half of the eleventh century A. D. as we have done above, it will be seen that it had ceased to be a spoken language some three centuries and a half when the *Mugdhabodha Auktika* was written (V. S. 1150=A. D. 1394).

Bilhana must have had some personal grudge against the Gurjaras, one would think, in so denouncing their language; for less than two hundred years before him Rājaśekhara in his *Kārya-Mimānsā* speaks admiringly of the Prākṛit spoken by the Lāṭas; (in Rājaśekhara's time (900 A. D.) Gujurāt was still known as Lāṭa); and of the speech of the people of Sorāshṭra;—unless the language was sadly vulgarized in two centuries. Rājaśekhara speaks of the Lāṭas in the present tense as speaking their Prākṛit. Evidently, then, in 900 A. D., the period assigned to Rājaśekhara, Apabhramṣa was an actually spoken language. It ceased to be such within a century and a half after that, or, according to Dr. Tessiteri, within one century after that.

But we find Bheja, in his *Sarasvatī-Kanṭhabharana* (A. D. 1014) saying:—

अपर्यगेन तु व्यन्ति स्वेन नान्येन गुर्जराः ॥

Thus it would seem that Apabhramṣa was still a spoken language in A. D. 1014. Thus the time I have fixed, viz. the first

6. पठन्ति लटम् छाटाः प्राकृते संस्कृतद्विषः ।  
जिद्या ललितोल्लापल्लवसौन्दर्यमुदया ॥  
सुरापूर्वमवा ये च पठन्त्यपितसौष्ठवम् ।  
अपत्रंशावदंशानि ते संस्कृतवचोस्यपि ॥

half of the eleventh century A.D. for the disappearance of Apabhramśa comes approximately near the truth. The line in *Sarasvatī Kanthibharana* just quoted is however capable of the interpretation that the Gurjars were satisfied with no other Apabhramśa than their own, which would indicate that their Apabhramśa as that of others had assumed distinctive evolutions, some stages further than the old Apabhramśa which had ceased to be spoken. In that case even, the time limit I have fixed need not be altered.

We shall now take a bird's eye view of the nature of the language that prevailed in Gujarat after the disappearance of Apabhramśa. Before we come to the prominent and definite landmark about the close of the fourteenth century A.D., in the shape of the *Mugdhārabodha Auktika* (V.S. 1450 A.D. 1391) the post-Apabhramśa literature is not yet properly investigated or known. A few specimens are supplied to us recently in the very useful paper from the pen of Mr Chimanlal D. Dalal M.A. contributed to the Fifth Gujarāti Sahitya Parishad on the MSS. found in the Jain *Bhandara* at Patana. I take the following specimens from it -

### ( 1 ) પડમસિરિ ચરિચ

*Eleventh century  
A.D.*

Year of copy V.S. 1191 (A.D. 1135)

The date of composition is unknown but must be about a century older than the copy from the language of it unless as is often the case it was designedly written in a language older than its time.

ધાદિલુ દિવ્ય દિદિ કવિ જપદ  
અદૃ જણ રોલુ સુએ વિષ સપદ ।  
નિદુણદ સાહમિ પદ્મરસાપદુ  
ધદમવદાણદ પહૃગુણમાપદુ ॥

[The metre here is અર્દિલા (as given in *VānibhāṣJana*). The દિ in 1 1 is to be read long, the anusvara in દ in 1 4 is કોમ્પદત્તમ and the syllable દ is of one *mātrā*, unless દ is a misselection for ત ]

Thirteenth cen-  
tury A. D.

## ( 2 ) मदनरेखासंधि

V. S. 1297=1241 A. D.

वारदसत्ताणउए वरिसे आसो असदछट्टीए ।

तिरिसंयपत्यणाए एं लिहियं उपाभिहियं ॥

## ( 3 ) जम्बुचरित्र

V. S. 1299=1243 A. D.

वारसनध्वाणउए भद्रसियपदिगृहिसुदरियं ।

पतासी भासाए भणियङ्गं संपभक्तए ॥

## ( 4 ) सुकोशल चरित्र

V. S. 1302=1246 A. D.

तेरदुरत्तरवरिसे सिरिवीरजिर्णिदमोऽपाक्षुणे ।

कङ्गाणं कुणइ सपा पदंत गुणं ताण भव्याण ॥

[The एं in गुणं, or दं in पदंत in the second line is short in this आर्योऽपाक्षुणे metre.]

## ( 5 ) वयरस्वामि चरित्र

V. S. 1310=1260 A. D.

सोहमगदानिदिणो गुणो लिहियरसामिणो धरियं ।

तेरहसोऽपाक्षुणे रद्यं उहारणं जयउ ॥

## ( 6 ) नर्मदासुन्दरीसन्धि

V. S. 1328=1272 A. D.

तेरसस्यभट्टीसे वरिसे लिरिजिणपहुपसाएणं ।

एसा संधि लिहिया जिर्णिदयणाशुसारेण ॥

[In the first line here the एं is *guru* in पहुप and एं, the last syllable, is एगु. Perhaps the word is पहुपसाएण.]

## ( 7 ) गौतमस्वामि चरित्र

V. S. 1358=1302 A. D.

Fourteenth Cen-  
tury A. D.

गोयमस्वामिहि गोदमचरियं रद्यं पदमंजरीए भासाए  
फत्तिय अमावस्याए अद्वावत्रस्त वरिसस्त ॥

These specimens will suffice. They indicate that, whether the writers wrote in a language much anterior to their times

(which seems very likely), or whether the language in the works belongs to their own time, the interval between the former and the latter being not more than a century, the language of the books upto the end of the twelfth century A. D. was the Apabhramsa of the centuries that had gone by, in other words Apabhramsa had not altered much in the books upto the twelfth century. I say this with an eye to the later development of the language, more than with reference to its previous stages. But, as we notice, from other evidence already discussed, that the early Apabhramsa was a dead language before Hemachandra's time, the language in these works must have been merely book language and not that of the people.

We have, however, other works written in language apparently approximating more to their own time than the instances noted above. Let us see them:—

Thirteenth cen.  
tury A. D. ( 1 ) जंगुस्वामिरास  
V. S. 1266 = 1210 A. D.

जंगुशीय भरह खिति तिहि नयर पद्माणउ ।  
राजगृह मामेण भयर पहुति वक्षाणउ ॥  
राज करद सेणीय नर्हि भरवरद जु सारो ।  
साद्यतणइ पुत्र बुदिमेत मंति अभयहुमारो ।

( 2 ) रेखंतगिरिरास

Probably V. S. 1288 = 1232 A. D.  
परमेसर तिस्पेसरह पयपंकष पणमेमि ।  
भणिषु राणु रेखंतगिरे अंविरुदेवि एमरेवि ॥

( 3 ) नेमिनाथ चतुष्पदिका

V. S. 1356 = 1300 A. D. or thereabouts

आवणि सरखणि कहुय मेहु  
गजइ विरहिरि द्विज्जाइ देहु ।  
विज्जु झावकइ रखसि जेम्ब  
नेमिहि पिय सहि सहियइ केम्ब ॥

सखी भण्ह सामिणि मन (मत?) छारि  
 दुज्जनतणा म वंछित पूरि ।  
 गयउ नेमि तउ विनृउ काई  
 अछह अनेरा वरह सयाई ॥  
 बोलह राजल तव इह वयण  
 नरिय नेमि सम वर रयण ।  
 धरह ते जुगहरण सवि ताव  
 गयणि न उगगह दिणयर जाव ॥  
 भाद्रि भरिया सर पिकखेवि  
 सकहण रोनह राजल देवि ।  
 हा एवलही मह निरथार  
 किम बवेपिसि करणासार ॥

I would draw your particular attention to the unsimplified conjuncts, e. g. those in विज्ञु, श्वाह, श्विज्ञह, विनृउ, etc., and also to the un-united vocalic groups अहू and अउ, and the form अछह. These are distinctly Apabhramsha features, features which, with the formation of the Gujarati language, assumed new evolutions, viz. simplification of the conjunct and the lengthening of the preceding vowel during the early beginning of Gujarati or rather during the stage between अन्तिम अपर्यंश and the beginning of Gujarati, and the wide अ and अ during the formation of modern Gujarati. अछह, however, is a post-Apabhramsha form; अछह being the Apabhramsha stage.

[On further consideration I am now inclined to accept a better name than अन्तिम अपर्यंश,—a name given by me provisionally for want of a better one at the time. The new name I mean is Gurjara Apabhramsha. Mārkandeya in his *Prākṛita-Sarrosra* (at the end of *pāda* XVIII) enumerates a number of Apabhramsha dialects named provincially. In that list we find *Gurjārī*. (Mārkandeya flourished about the middle of the fifteenth century A. D.; see *supra* P. 261). Bhālsana speaks of *Gurjara Bhāshā* in the opening stanza of his first *Nalākhyaṇa*—गुजरभाषाए नक्तराजना गुण मनोहर गांँ; but also later on in stanza 10 of the first *Kādarū* he calls

the language *Apabhramsa* અપભ્રંસ એ નદ્વપથરાની અપભ્રંસ એ દાખી (I shall deal with this evidence in my sixth lecture in a different connection) Putting all these factors together it is possible conjecturally to construct the linguistic name prevalent during the period between the fourteenth century and the first quarter of the sixteenth century A.D. (the approximate period of the end of Bhalana's literary activity, see Essay (Gujarati) on Bhalana by Ramalal Chunilal Modi p 155) This name I take to be ગુજરાત અપભ્રંસ (*Gujara Apabhramsa*) ]

[As regards the main *Apabhramsa* itself Markandeya gives three principal varieties *Nagara*, *Vidclada* and *Upanagara* Of these *Nagara* is the important one Sir George Grierson goes the length of making a conjecture that Hemachandra dealt with this *Nagara Apabhramsa* and that *Nagara Apabhramsa* derived its name from the literary caste of *Nagara Brahmins* (L.S.I. Vol IX, Part II, page 327) I am not prepared to accept this conjecture. After all, the *Nagara Brahmins* were smaller than a clan, and to name a language after a caste smaller than a clan and deviate from the usual practice of naming language after the provinces wherein they flourished is extremely improbable I do not forget that names of provinces in ancient India—usually used in the plural number—really indicated the names of the tribes that settled therein But we have not yet heard of નાગરા as the name of a province, as we know of વિદ્ધારી, લાટ and

7 I am aware that Mr Devadatta R Bhandial in his valuable paper on "Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population (Ind Ant XL 1911 A.D. pp 33 34) shows almost to demonstration that the *Nagaras* were a clan which came into India in the early centuries of the Christian era, settled at or about Nagarkot (modern Kāngla) in the Punjab, and generally spread over different parts, *Vadnagar* (ancient Anartapur or Anandapur) being one of them This would indicate the *Nagaras* as a fairly large clan But Sir George Grierson speaks of the caste that flourished in *Vadnagar* and *Märkandeya*, the earliest corner of the name *Nagara Apabhramsa* flourished as late as about 1450 A.D., at which period the caste referred to by Sir George was certainly not such a big clan, and hence my remark stands

the like. Again, Mārkaṇḍeya, who was the first writer to give the name of नागर अपर्णश, does not enlighten us on the point of the derivation of that name as he does, for instance, in the case of Vrāchāla (सिन्धुदेशोद्ध्रवो माचडोपर्णशः).]

#### ( 4 ) संवेगमातृका

V. S. 1850=1294 A. D.

भण्ड भण्ड जाणड परमधु  
दुष्टु (sic.?) दुष्टु वृविद्व संषद् सत्थु ।  
मीडउ भणिड किम् कृवि वद्दृ  
मीडा विथु संसाठ जु भम्मृ ।  
मीडा तणी अज एवडी सकि  
मीडउ ध्यातां द्वृभ्मृ ज शुकि ॥

Note the unsimplified conjunct here also. This is exactly one century before the *Mugdhācābodha Aulikā* wherein we first find the conjunct systematically simplified and the previous vowel lengthened (नाच्छ, पापी, etc.).

#### ( 5 ) कहूळी रास

V. S. 1863=1307 A. D.

गणवइ जो जिम् दुरिड विंडणु  
रोल निगरणु तिद्युणमंडणु  
पणमवि सामीड पास जिणु ॥  
सिरि भेसर धरिद्वि वंसो  
बीजी साद्व वनिड रासो  
घन्मिय रोल निगरिड ॥

\* \* \*

तम्हि नयरीय तम्हि नयरीय वस्तू चहु लोय ।  
चितामणि जिम् दुर्च्छायद्वै दाउ समिनेय द्वरितीय ।  
सध्याइ सीलि पग्दरइ फूडकपद्व नवि तेय जाणइ ॥  
गर्लोड जलु वाढी पीर धन्म कम्मि अपुरक ।  
एक जीद किम् वजोइ कहूळी उपवित ।

\* \* \*

तो जगि जयवंत बम्हाड जाँ जगि ऊगइ सहसकरो ।

Note here the gradual rise of the new phase of the conjunct, viz: its simplification and consequent lengthening of the preceding vowel;—gradual, in the sense that while some words take this new shape, others do not; thus ઊગાડ has assumed this simplification here, whereas in 1300 A. D. (specimen No. 3 above) i. e. seven years earlier, we had ઊગડ. On the other hand કમિ and સથડ indicate the potency of the unsimplified conjunct still clinging firmly. The conjunct in પદમ must be excluded from comparison in this case, as it is one of those words which have not till now submitted to the simplifying process, પાન is never the form assumed by it.

### ( 6 ) ગૌતમરાસ

V. S. 1412=1355 A. D.

We are now very near the *Mughdrabodha Auktika* period (V. S. 1150),—only thirty-eight years more and we reach that period, the period of the simplified conjunct in full swing. And we find the indications in abundance in this work. Whereas the unsimplified conjunct is rare, as in પિસ્યવિ and જસ્સ, the simplified conjunct in this *Rāsa* is plentiful.—કીજાડ, દીઠાડ, સીજાડ, બદ્રત (not બદ્રદ)—(although in the line following this word we have પદ્રત which I suspect should be પદ્રત, or at least પદ્રત, as the rhyme with બદ્રત would demand); નાડા (not નાડા); દીજાડ, ચણીજાડ, સમીજાડ, ખણીજાડ, નમીજાડ, ખમીજાડ, સીજાડ, આડ (not ભાડ); પેરાડ, પેશવિ; સાચા, સાચડ (not સાચચ, સાચડ); આજ, આજુ (not અજ, અજુ); પૂછદ (not પુછદ); દીસાડ (not દિસાડ); ગાજતડ (not ગજતડ), ગારેતી, ગાજાડ, (it must be noted that this comes as a rhyming word with રાજાડ, which is initially a word without a conjunct જ; still unless ગારેતી were current freely the word could not have been used at all); કાજુ (not કાર્જુ; it is used in rhyme with આય; but here it was possible to say અજુ and કર્જુ for both, if the simplification of conjuncts had not become dominant during this period); ઊઠી (not ઊટી); સાત, દુષ્પ (not સત્ત, દુષ્પ).

The દુંગાડ for દુંગડ (prissive) which Dr. Tessitori has discovered in the *Prilgrita-Paingala*, is found here in full force; and upon this દુંગાડ Dr. Tessitori based the "inference that the simplification of

8. *Supra*, p. 391, last para; and Dr. Tessitori's "Notes" referred to thereto.

conjuncts had begun long before the fourteenth century A. D. (to which period the *Prākrit-Paingala* belongs, because the verses quoted therein for the most part are much older). We have seen in our specimens here, that this process of simplification of conjuncts begins *after* 1300 A. D. (the date of नेमिनाथ चतुर्पदिका which still adheres distinctively to the strong conjunct and short vowel), and has made a timid start in 1307 A. D. (specimen No. 5, कल्पीराम). Unless, then, Dr. Tessitori has actual evidence in MSS. earlier than the fourteenth century or unless he can fix the exact or approximate dates of the older quotations in the *Prākrit-Paingala*, his inference is weakened by the evidence now before us. It must be however noted that possibly the language of the specimens before us was some years older than the dates of their writing, and thus Dr. Tessitori's inference may come near an approximate correctness. The only hesitation I feel in the present case is due to the fact that the language of these particular specimens seems naturally to belong to the period when they were written.

But I must give a few extracts from *Gautama Rāsa*, though it is not possible to give all containing the words enumerated above.—.

( a ) सात हात एप्रमाण देह रूपिदि रंभावर ॥ ३ ॥  
 ( b ) विकरयि निरयम रूब जस्स जग जंपइ कैचिय ।  
 अहवा निश्च युवय जस्मि जिणवर इणि वंदिय ॥ ५ ॥

[The विकरयि is here not पेतयि, nor is जस्स turned to जास yet. As regards युवय and जस्मि I exclude them on the same ground as that on which I excluded पत्नम in the last specimen. The words never have till now become पूर्व or जास].

(I now quote from a copy taken from the Ms. in Mr. C. D. Dalal's possession).

( c ) देवे समवसरणु तदि कीजई ।  
 \*जिणि दीठई मिधामति खीजई ।  
 त्रिमुग्नगुरु सिंहासणि वहउ ।  
 ततकणि भीइ दिगंति पयहउ ॥ ९ ॥

(\*the Ms. has जीणि).

[As I have remarked just above पयट्ठ is obviously an error for पट्ठ, or पय्यट्ठ, (the ति of दिग्गति is to be read long under the usual latitude in Apabhramsa versification<sup>9</sup>)

विभुवनगुरु and मिथ्यामति are here unaltered Sanskrit words pure तत्त्वात् words used designedly it seems, is well known and specially privileged expressions ]

(d) मूँ आगइ को जाणु भणीजइ ।

मेरह अवर कि जाम दीजइ ॥ १५ ॥

(e) सदस्तकिरण जिम वीरजिणु पेतवि रूप विशाल ।

एहु अचमन्तु समवेस साच्चडं भह इद्रियाल ॥ १६ ॥

(f) चिंतामणि करि चहियउ आजु ।

सरतह सारई वठिय काजु ॥ ४२ ॥

(g) पर परवस परता काइ कीजइ ।

इसदेस्तर काई भमीजइ ।

फगण<sup>10</sup> काजु भाशास परे ।

प्रह ऊठी गोष्ठ समरीजइ ।

काजु समयू तत्थाणि सीझाई ।

नवनिहि विलसइ तांडि परे ॥ ४४ ॥

9 See Mārkandēya's *Prakriti Sarvāra* XVIII, 8 —

इच्छ दोऽनुरोपेन वर्णानि गुरुलाघवम् ।

10 For the change of the gender of कवण from masculine to neuter see *ante* Vol. I, p. 472 (b)-Addenda-supplementary, and p. 251, n. 101. The use of कवण here (कवण काजु भाशास को) is exactly like that in the illustration to *Si He* VIII iv 367, कैजे कतणेण. This illustration was of course older than Hemachandra, while that in *Kumārapāla charita* VIII, 30 (cited *ante*, Vol. I, p. 251, n. 251, n. 101) was of Hemachandra's coinage, and so it will indicate his personal predilection in favour of the restricted use of कवण.

(It is to be noted that, though कवण has gone through these variations of gender from masculine to feminine and then to neuter, कैजे has remained restricted to the neuter gender, so much so that the declinable use of किम् in the sense of 'why' is represented by कैजे; कैजे भहो मुङ्गु-किम् भधोमुखत्व, *Si He* VIII iv 367, fourth illustration).

I exclude from this survey a work called શાન્તપંચમી ચોપાદું (V S 1428=A. D 1867) which was written by one, Viddhanu seo of Mîlhe, and pupil of Jina Udayagora, while touring in Magadha, for it obviously adopts, as if designedly, forms which must have been obsolete in his days, it being hardly likely that they should

*Exceptional work possessing obsolete features, excluded from survey reasons for such exclusion*

be forms still lingering in the language of the times, especially as the interval between this work (V S 1428) and *Mugdhârabodhâ-Aulîla* (V S 1170) is only about a quarter of a century, and also as *Gautamo Râga*—which was only eleven years before it—discloses a pretty luxuriant crop of the simplified conjunct with a lengthened preceding vowel. You have only to look, in the શાન્તપંચમી ચોપાદું, at words like દામદ (for દામદ), અચાદ (instead of આચાદ or અચાદ, though આચાદ is also used by this writer, betraying the really prevalent feature of his times), દિસત (for દીસત), and સમલદ (for સાંમલદ), and you will feel a kind of conviction as to the intentional use of the out of date forms with the strong-vowelled conjunct. An illustration in point from our time will impress you with what I mean. If you look at the writings of Mr. Kesaralil H. Dhruva, you will find a number of words which

How completely the original derivation of કવળ and કેળ (G.) was forgotten is further visible in the altered use of કેળ in earlier Gujarâti literature, it being used (like કવળ ધણ, કવળ કરણ, કવળ કાજ) as an attributive adjectival word instead of being given a purely pronominal position without a વિશેષ, which would be its true position justified by its derivation from ક મુન. Thus Fremdhand has વહો તમે કોણ દેય વસોછો ? કેમ આચ્યા આ સરોવર સાર ? (*Maddlasâ Akhyâna, Kadarû XXIII Brhat Kârya Dohân II*, first edition, p. 233 ! 1). At present we would say "કીએ દેય વસોછો ?" See also Narasimha કોણ પુણે કરી નાર હું અવતરી *Sringâra mâlî, pada 148* in the Gujarâti Press' collection of his works.

The apparently neuter gender in કોણ આચ્યુ એ? and such like expressions at present is due to the impersonal nature of કેળ, otherwise કેળ is masculine, and occasionally feminine (e. g. "પેલી વાડ ગઈ તે દીઠી? કેળ હતી એ?")

were in use in the literature of two or three centuries ago and are now gone out, such as કરુણ (=embrace), અગોપ (=concealed) છેદ (=end), નિશ્ચાર (=the forehead), નેવર (=an anillet), ચદ્ર (=to let flow), સોત (=to be finished), and the like. Now our descendants five hundred years hence if no clue were furnished them, would naturally conclude that such words were in vogue in the twentieth century of the Christian era. Exactly similar is the case with words and forms found in the work I am just now speaking of.

*Prof. Turner's view as to the beginning of the simplified conjunct*  
dissented from

[With this very eloquent testimony of literature of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries before us, I am afraid we must hesitate before completely agreeing with Prof. R. L. Turner in the view that simplification of conjuncts occurred in Gujarati by 1300 A. D.<sup>11</sup> Our specimen

(3), dated 1300 A. D. bristles with the unsimplified conjunct, specimen (4), dated 1307 A. D., shows only a faint beginning of the simplified conjunct and not till we come to 1356 A. D.—specimen (5)—do we find the simplified conjunct in full swing. Thus Prof. Turner's period is out only by a short span, perhaps a quarter of a century, for the simplified conjunct in 1356 A. D. (*Gautama Rdsā*) must presuppose a beginning of the process about three decades precedent to the time. It would be interesting to know what Prof. Turner relies on in this matter.]

Now we reach the sure ground of the *Mugdhābodha Auktika*<sup>12</sup>

*The Mugdhābodha Auktika a steady beacon light The guiding tests supplied by it*

(V. S. 1450=A. D. 1394), the language contained in which being undoubtedly the language of its day, serves as a beacon light throwing its flashes before and after. We have seen the period before it in its flashes, we now pass on to the period after it for the language of this *Auktika* need not detain us at present.

11 J. P. A. S., July 1921, p. 333

12 I believe I have not explained in these Lectures why I persist in calling this work an *Auktika* when well known scholars like Sir

We may only remember here its prominent features, viz. the simplification of conjunct accompanied by the lengthening of the preceding vowel, the अ॒-अ॒ स्वरपुण्ड्र (vowels in contact), and certain grammatical forms (e. g. ऐ॒इ॒, दे॒इ॒), and case terminations or suffixes like न॒ड, रह॒ं, as also some noticeable words like किसिं, माहर॒ड, ताहर॒ड, हवडां etc., which serve as links between the periods on either side of this illuminating *Auktika*.

So, then, we come to the works after 1450 V. S. noted by Mr. C. D. Dnlâl in his paper. And I may at once state here that the test I have applied in examining the specimens of the

George Grierson (Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. IX, Part II, pp. 353, 359) and Dr. Tessitori (Ind. Ant. February 1914, p. 24 para 1), have given it the name of *Mauktika*. My reasons are:

- (a) भौकिंक, as appended to this name, makes no proper sense;
- (b) भौकिं has a reference to the expression दक्षीना विधिवृत्ताय संप्रदः in the opening verse of the work;
- (c) In the concluding colophon the author himself distinctly calls it भौकिं;—भौकिं अपित मुपाप्ते श्रीदेव सुन्दरामृषेः ॥
- (d) *Auktika* was evidently a common designation for treatises of this kind, e. g. *Vdlyapraldsha-Auktika* (V. S. 1507); in which the author says:—  
संस्कृतादीकिं दृष्टे व. ल. ना हितुदये ॥; this work is listed in Dr. Döhler's catalogue at No. in 18, as also in Dr. Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum*.

The mistake in the name arose, I believe, from the fact that the whole name मुपाप्तवौकिंकृत् can be separated in two different ways, मुपाप्तवौकिंकृत् and मुपाप्तवौकिं+कृत्, and also from the fact that H. H. Dhruva, in editing the book, called it प्रथमं भौकिं of a series contemplated by him. This error was further accentuated by him in his paper on the *Neo-Vernaculars of Western India* read before the Eighth International Congress of Orientalists on 10th September 1889 at Christiania, wherein he uses the word भौकिं for *Auktika* at two places for certain. This may have misled Western scholars in this matter. Besides, Dr. Fleet in an editorial foot note at the opening page of my review of that work (Ind. Ant. Feb. 1892, p. 52) deliberately came to the conclusion that the name was *Mauktika* and not *Auktika*, on evidence cited by him which really leads to an opposite conclusion.

earlier period shows, as applied to those of the later period, that the language in which some of the works are written could not possibly belong to the time in which they were written. Of course, there will be found some exceptions also. Let us glance at some of these works —

. (1) **चिंगतिनी वेल**—Date of composition not known; date of copy V. S. 1462=1456 A. D.

*Fifteenth century.*

चिंगति मांदि कार नच्छी सार

दीसइ दुरकतणु भंदार ।

\* \* \*

रामतिनी छइ मू घणी टेव

गुरुपा संघनी नितु कर सेव ।

अज्ञानपणइ आसातन कीप

वस्तिग लागइ भीसंघ पाप ॥

It is evident that the interval between the composition and the copying of this work could not be very long. For, while the simplified conjuncts in दीसइ, लागइ would place the work under half a century before the *Mugdhāvabodha Aulīka*, the genitive termination तणु and still more नी (in संघनी) would fix the work in the *Mugdhāvabodha* period.<sup>13</sup> Similarly छइ also belongs to

13. गुरुपणं दचन—*Mugdhāv.* p. 4, col. 1 and in several other places. एकनड, जेहनइ विपइ, &c., *Ibid.*, P. 4, Cols. 1-2 and other places. कर्तीनी अपेशी, कर्मनी अपेशी; *Ibid.*, p. 6, col. 2. तण is given in *Si. He.* VIII-iv-422 as an *ādeśa* for संविधन् when used in *Apabhrāmī*; but it had not yet acquired the position of a specific termination of the genitive case. It seems that its use as such a termination was an evolution peculiar to later *Apabhrāmī*. The instances given by Hemachandra for केर and तण viz. नमुकेरए दुकारए and अन्हइ तण show that केर and तण were affixed after the *Apabhrāmī* genitive terminations, ई or ए (जस्तु=यस्य, and आदह=प्रसम+रस्य); यस्य संविधनि दुकोरे and असमाकं संविधनः being the form of use recognized then. Kālidāsa in his *Śākuntala* (Act VII) has ममकेरए दट्ट (ममर्वनिधनि दट्टे). This marks the early adjectival stage of केर. It was reserved for subsequent centuries to turn these suffixes into regular terminations, दुरकतणु in our specimen would have been दुरकहणु in these earlier times.

that period, though नच्छि (for नस्ति) made up of न+अच्छि is a very rare and peculiar formation.<sup>14</sup> It will not, however, counteract the cumulative evidentiary effect of the other features. We can therefore safely place this work about the end of the fourteenth century A. D.. The uncontracted स्वरणम्, अहू (लागू, असानपणू &c.) also is a time-fixing item.

### (2) त्रिभुवन दीपक प्रदन्ध

(About V. S. 1460=A. D. 1401; for the author was alive in that year;—that is all that is known).

This work also indulges in obsolete connect-preserving forms:—  
चक्षिष्, मणि, (per माणि or मारणि), दिणि. Yet its style otherwise marks it as using language of its own days:—

मानससरि जां निम्बलइ कराइ कराइ हंड ।  
तां सरसति रागइ रहइ जोगी जाणइ हंड ॥ २ ॥

### (3) विद्याविलासरास

(V. S. 1486=A. D. 1480)

वीरदगदिदि गिरभा गणहर  
सिरि धीरप्पह उरि ।  
नामिइ लीप्पह जासतणइ उरि  
पाप पणासइ दूरि ॥ ३ ॥

This work may fairly represent the language of its own period.

पणासइ—which is not from the causal of नश् (नाशयति) is प्रणश्यति and would have halted at पणस्सइ in an earlier period. जासतणइ, no doubt, still looks back to the earlier period when तण was tacked on to the genitive termination (पस्य संवन्धिनि=मास) (पस्य-जस्स)+तणइ. Thus the change of जस्स in जास belongs to the later period, and here is a complex combination of two periods in which the fact of the later evolution must obviously predominate as the age-determining factor, for the past may linger in the present, but the present cannot live in the past by way of anticipation of a future evolution, in cases of this nature.

14. Unless नच्छि be a mislection, owing to misapprehension of the letter त्य, which is not unlikely.

## ( ४ ) दशार्णभद्ररास

(V. S. 1486=A. D. 1430).

This work also reflects the language of its own date:

दशनभद्र गुण गाइसिंड  
 नासए कसमळ पूरि कि  
 इणिपरि जिनवर वांदतां ए

The नासए and वांदतां mark the simplified conjunct of the later Apabhramśa; and गाइसिंड for गाइस्सामो and other forms, इणिपरि where 'प्रकारेण' has dwindled into परि (through पायर-पयर), and the तां in वांदतां are expressions and forms known in the later period alone.

## ( ५ ) नेमिनाथ फाग

(V. S. 1508=A. D. 1446)

देवी देवि नवी कवीभर तथी वाणी अमीतारणी  
 सरसति मुजम मति देवीभ देवीभ तु जगि सार.रे  
 नीडभमलद्ध सामल जिनवर यरणदु नेमि कुमार रे ॥  
 कामित फल दातार सामी नेमि कुमार  
 सासारी तिज काज राजहमारी

Here we are in the heart of the period of *Vasunia-Vidha* (V. S. 1508) and of *Kāñhadade-Prabandha* (V. S. 1512), वाणी has settled down as a regular genitive termination from an adjective meaning स्वन्धिन् or some such thing requiring अ or ए (genitive terminations) to link it with the preceding word; काज is not काज now, the simplified conjunct having now become a fixed institution; दातार is a word and form of later usage than even *Mugdhabodha*; and रे, as a word adopted merely as an ornamental appendage at the end of verses, is also a feature unknown to a period earlier than the sixteenth century of the Vikrama era.

## ( ६ ) वस्तुपाल तेजपालरास

The date of this work is not ascertainable nor the author's name. Mr. Chimanlil Dalal simply calls it ancient, because he says, the names of Vastupāla and Tejapāla are given in the work.

as Vastiga and Tejiga also which he thinks must be the real names in popular usage. Now Vastipâls died in V. S. 1293 and Tejipâle in V. S. 1808. It cannot seriously be asserted that this Râsa was composed in the fourteenth century of the Vikrama era. Some time must naturally elapse before a Râsa would be thought of and by that time, if the names Vastiga and Tejiga were names of local and popular usage in their day, such names would be lost to tradition even. The probability is that, these names were of ordinary usage from generation to generation and Vastupala and Tejapala were dignified names, given a classical turn used in poetical works and stone inscriptions. But we need not wander long in the field of conjecture. Look at the language of the specimen from the Râsa itself and you will be satisfied that the work could not have been earlier than the fifteenth century of the Vikrama era. Here it is:—

वीर जिणेसर नमीप पाय अनइ गोयमसामी ।  
 संतसति तणइ पसाडलइ प कदिसिड सिर नामी ॥ १ ॥  
 यस्तुपाल तेजिग तणउ अम्हे घोटिस रासो ।  
 भरत पेश घूरि गुजरात अनहिण्युर वासो ॥ २ ॥

Your attention will at once be arrested in the above by the following words:—अनइ, कदिसिड, तणइ, सणउ, गुजरात.

अनइ and कदिसिड belong to a period not earlier than the latter half of the fourteenth century<sup>15</sup> A. D., so far as I can see.

तण in the two places here is affixed direct as a termination to the word, without the intervention of the other genitive terminations, स or ह. This, as observed in the case of specimen No (१), would place the work somewhere about the end or middle of the fourteenth century A. D..

15. अनइ is found in the *Mugdhdvabodha Auktika* period, the Apabhramsa equivalent would be अनः. कदिसिड;—this future formation is shown by Dr. Tessitori ("Notes" § 121) as instances in *Avachuri* to *Daksharaikdikasûtra* (A. D. 1400-1500), and *Upadesamâlabdârabodha* (A. D. 1500-1550).

The ઓ ending in રાસો and વાસો need not claim for the work late age (as ઓ for અરુ marks the beginning of Modern Gujarati—the earliest time of ઓ being V. S. 1750 or thereabout). For in view of the presence of other Gurjara Apabhramsha features in this work, this ઓ may be regarded as reminiscent of the Apabhramsha stage, for Apabhramsha recognizes ઓ in the nom. sing. of masc. nouns as an alternative form. (*St. He.* VIII, iv 332). The accusative in રાસો (વોલિસ રાસો) marks a later age disregard of the gender condition.

But there is the word ગુજરાત which will shift the date still later, a little later; for the country must have begun to be known by this specific name some time before the *Künhaçada-Prabandha* (V. S. 1512) in local literature, as we find the name mentioned in that epic. On the other hand, as Sir George Grierson informs us,<sup>16</sup> this name, Gujarat, was known in Europe since the time of Marco Polo (1254-1321 A. D.)<sup>17</sup>

We can, therefore, combine all these items of evidence, and safely put this work, વસ્તુપાઠ સેવપાઠરાસ, somewhere after the period of the *Mugdhabodha Aulaka*, i. e. the beginning of the fifteenth century A. D..

#### (૭) શ્રેणિકરાસ

(Date of copy V. S. 1526 = A. D. 1170)

(The work must therefore be some time before this date, probably half a century before.)

The extract given is of neutral tint by way of linguistic evidence; and so I pass it over.

#### (૮) મંગલકલસ ચોપાઇ

(Date not known).

16. LSI, Vol. IX, Part II, p. 333.

17. For a detailed discussion of this name, Gujarat, and its time see *infra* Lecture VI; the Gujarat of Al Beruni (970-1031 A. D.) was different from the present day Gujarat; and hence I exclude it here.

Specimen:—

मंगलकल्प चरित हिव भणसित रथिभ रसाल ॥ १ ॥

रथिभ रसाल निसुणतां मंगलकल्प चरित ।

भविभां भाविह संभलु करीउ सुनिचल चितु ॥ २ ॥

निश्चल चित पसार लह वियन विलीजह दूरि ।

एलित वाणी इम भणद भीतव्यानंद चहि ॥ ३ ॥

The unlengthened अ in the first syllable of संभलु is the only trace of pre-Mugdhārobodha period, and that is not a very strong piece of evidence, whereas भणसित, निसुणतां, लह and इम would point to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries A. D. .

### (८) पेथडरास

Mr. Dalil says it appears to have been composed in the beginning of the fifteenth century V. S.. The specimen shows language of a period before the Mugdhārobodha —

पोदीनयर निगतिणीय यंत्र भंविकदेवि ।

शासन देयति भन घरीय गुह चटण नमेवि ॥ २ ॥

रात रमेयउ निणभवणि तालमल ठवि पाड़ ।

सुंष तलायन रोपीउए सभगिरि विभगिरि वेवि ॥ ३ ॥

चलण for चरण must evidently be an unintentional adoption of a feature of Māgadhi Prākrit. रमेयउ, घरीय, नमेवि &c. are a few indications of the period stated above.

### (९) संघपति समर्पस्त्र ह रास

(V. S. 1471=A. D. 1115)

The language is rather mixed, containing the older as well as a few later features, the former being most probably intentional adoptions. One form is very significant in connection, incidentally, with my theory of the विवृत अ̄ sound being the resultant of अय (अण) as a preceding stage, i. e. my anti-samaprasāra theory. It is यथउ instead of यहउ.

अवणि यणइ सो यथउ ए तीरथजात्राफलु लेइ ॥

### (११) सुदयवत्सवीर चरित्र

The date of this work is unknown. Mr. Chimanlal Dalil

thinks it must have been composed in the beginning of the sixteenth century, Vikrama era. But there are several features which belong to a considerably earlier stage, and I believe the work must be placed in the pre-Mugdhabodha period. The features I mean are —

The strong-vowelled unsimplified conjunct, e. g. સંચે, બંગાર, રંગાડુ, પુચ્છાડુ, તુજાર, મળેલુ.

The non-terminal nature of તણ in તુંઅતણાડુ;—here the ણ is an evolute of ણ, the genitive termination of earlier Apabhransha stage.

### (૧૨) સાગરદસ્તરાસ

V. S.

Some time in the sixteenth century V. S.; for a pupil of the author wrote a work called લલિતાંગ ચરિત્ર in V. S. 1561. (See No ૧૩ next below).

If, then, we find the unsimplified conjunct in this work, we must attribute it to a designed adoption of the style of language spoken in centuries gone by. The instances of this conjunct are — અટુ, હિંયિ, જુલ્લણ (for યૌવન), દિટુડ, કસ્સ.

### (૧૩) લલિતાંગ ચરિત્ર

(V. S. 1561)

The same remark as above applies to this—which has the conjunct in words like રણિ (where even No ૧૨ has રાણુ-તાંડુ રાણુ કાર્ડ) for રાણિ (રાજયમા), ઉત્ત for પૂત.

### (૧૪) નંદવનીશી ચતુર્પદી

(Probably in V. S. 1510, but may easily be later.)

ઇમ is one of the features of a period near after the Mugdhabodha Auktika.

### (૧૫) વિદ્વણપંચાશિકા કાવ્ય ચોપાડ

(Date of copy V. S. 1655=A. D. 1593. The work was probably composed about half a century earlier).

The simplified conjunct is prominent in this work—મણી (not દાણી), અણી (not ઉણી), સાર (not રાણ for શાર), મારા (not મંડા), જાસ (not જસ્સ), તાસ (not તસ્સ), although તણ is tacked on to these, જામતણા, તાસતણા, and with regard to this mixture of the old

and the new, I would remind you of my remark regarding specimen No (3) विद्याविद्यास रास. The simplified conjunct and the lengthened preceding vowel are undoubtedly features of the later period, whereas the detached position of तण is but a remnant of the earlier centuries. In fact जासतण, तासतण must have gradually come to be regarded as one compact form turning तण almost into a termination and ignoring the terminal nature of the ण, as in the case of ना and थी (genitive and ablative terminations) coming together in forms like द्वेनथी, राजानथी, and the like in Modern Gujarati. The expression शानतणू रस्ति in this same work distinctly shows the terminal nature of तण. "आलोपणा," V. S. 1330, has सहार तणउ. Could the terminal nature of तण have begun, then, as early as this? It seems so. But it is possible that this was but a rare instance, as would happen when changes begin to evolve. The state of things is thus this. In the earlier stages तण, adjectival, prevailed, then तण, terminal, came in, but तण, adjectival, still predominated, then gradually it gave place to the terminal तण and lingered on as a remnant of older times in occasional instances or in crystallized forms like जासतणू and तासतणू. The waters of a flowing river take their tinge from the soil they traverse, then new soil comes in and new tinges are taken and yet occasionally the older tinge survives or lingers till it finally vanishes.

उद्द, द्वयद्द, रचिति, तिम &c are other features pointing to the later period of this work, a period beginning with the fifteenth century A. D. and downwards.

### (१६) कर्पूरमंजरीचउप॒

(V. S. 1605=A. D. 1549)

एस्ट-ब्रस्ट has become चस्ट in this work, partly through the exigencies of metre, in any case simplifying the conjunct. मंजित (=मादीत) retains the short, strong, अ, but the future tense form being of a distinctly later type excludes any possibility of an earlier period for the work.

The अउ in the title, चरप॒, in contrast with चोप॒ in the title of earlier works arrests attention, but the चो in the earlier works

appears to be the handiwork of later writers of the title of the work. ग, a later evolution of हुं, distinctly marks the later period for the language in this work, heralding the coming of that evolute later on.

We may now glance at some works outside Mr. Dalal's paper.

(क) वसन्तविलास

(V. S. 1508=A. D. 1452).

This date is mentioned by Mr. Keśavalāl H. Dhruba (while editing the work) on the strength of the following words at the conclusion:—

गुरुं भरतु लेखकपाठकयोः । श्री गुरुं श्री माणवंसे साह श्री देपाठसुत  
साह श्री चंद्रपाठ आत्मपठनार्थं श्रीमन्मूर्पविक्रमार्फसमयातीत संग्रह १५०८  
पर्वे.....आचार्यरत्नागरेण लिखितोयं वसन्तविलासः ॥

The word लिखितः may mean either copied or composed. It is not clear what the meaning is. But the probability is that the work was composed and written in V. S. 1508. If, however, the strict sense of लिखित is taken, the work will have to be placed some years earlier. Mr. Keśavalāl puts the language of the work, 58 years earlier on the ground that poetry is written in a language earlier than its time, not so prose. I do not know how far this can be accepted as an invariable rule. However, taking our test work *Mugdhārabodha Auktika* as the standard in this matter, we cannot quite regard the language as synchronous with that of *Mugdhārabodha Auktika*. Some specimens may be considered:

आ इह पाठ्य साद् ॥ २३ ॥

मवपीशन अभिराम ति रामति फरद् चरंगि ।  
स्वर्गि जिशां चरमाचर राष्ट्र रमद् मन रंगि ॥ १६ ॥

आगद् इन्द्रु निवर्ण्य ॥ २० ॥

जे भथु पिर न पयोहर मोहरथु मग पारि ।  
मान रथु किशा कारण सारणद्वाह रिच्यारि ॥ २४ ॥  
सहृद कठा तु निशाचर द्वाहरं सहृदि संक्षय ॥ ४२ ॥

कहि सखी मुझ प्रिय वातडो रातडि किम हि न जाइ ।  
 दोहिडु मकरनिकेतन चेत नर्हा मुझ ठाइ ॥ ४५ ॥

जिमजिम विहसए विणसए..... ॥ २७ ॥

इम देखी वनसंपए..... ॥ ३७ ॥

इंपरि कोइलि घुंजइ पूंजइ जुगति मणोर ॥ २६ ॥

तरुणी अ शूं रति मांडि ॥ ४४ ॥

रति प्रीति शूं सोहए मोहए विभोवन चीत ॥ १८ ॥

आंगुडी मयणची जाणि ॥ ३४ ॥

चंदन चंदनकु मीत ॥ १८ ॥

थापणि तणीअ अनंग ॥ ६६ ॥

वसन्त तिहाँ परथान ॥ ३७ ॥

In these extracts, साद (३३) and मुझ (४५) (twice) mark the simplified conjunct, with the preceding vowel lengthened in the former and not lengthened in the latter. पूंजइ (२६) similarly (from पुंज=a heap; changed into a verb='mounts up into a heap') indicates the softened nasal and lengthened preceding vowel.

तिहाँ (३७) is a form given in the vocabulary at p. 16, col. 1 of the *Mughárabodha Auktika*.

ची-कु (३४, १८) are forms of the genitive termination lingering in the later *Apabhrāmī* as occasional variants which have passed into Modern Marāthī as the termination for genitive. As Dr. Bhāndārkar has pointed out,<sup>18</sup> रु (the Sanskrit *taddhita* termination) is the original of the genitive ची.

तणीअ अनंग (६६) is a bold poetical license in so far as it is an inversion of प्रकृति and प्रत्यय,-अनंगतणी (or अनंगतणीअ) is the original. The तण termination in the former case would be detached, with the अ-a faint remnant of the older genitive termination ए; in the latter it would be an attached termination, the feature of later *Apabhrāmī*.

18. See his Wilson Philological Lectures. P. 257.

મણોર (૨૬) is a curious instance of the loss of a final દ્વાર (મનોરથ-મણોરદુ-મણોર).

ઝણપરિ (૨૬) is a significant evolnt of એનેન પ્રકારેણ (પ્રકારેણ-પ્યારેણ-પ્યરિ-પેર, પરિ),—which as noted behind, marks the later stage of Apabhramsha દ્વાર may instead of coming from એનેન, i.e. a genitive form,<sup>19</sup> the termination એ being appended to ણ, though *Si He* VIII-iii-79, 80 would show દ્વારણ as either accusative or nominative દ્વારણ in later Apabhramsha may have taken the place of either instrumental or genitive, based on the Prakrit nominative.

જિમ (૨૭) દ્વાર (૨૭) વિમ (૨૮)—are forms found in the vocabulary at p. 16, col. 1, of the *Mugdhāvabodha Auktika*

જી (with) in (૧૪) and (૧૯).—It is to be noted that જીતં was સિંડં in the *Mugdhāvabodha* period (ચૈતુ લોકસિં યાત કરં \* \* \* \* કીર્ણ સિંડં? ઓનસિં, p. 3, col 1 *Mugdhāvabodha Auktika*) <sup>20</sup> becoming જી in the *Vasanta vildsa*, marking a later evolution. It is also to be noted that this જી governs the genitivo in તરણીનિ અ (અ being the remnant of ઇ)—as is the case in Gujarati now તરણીની સાથે (where, however, સાથે is originally a noun in the locativo case), while the અ is dispensed with in પ્રીતિશ.

Similarly શું=what, has a significant history કિશું in કિશા ધારણ (૧૪) and શું in શાસ્ત્ર (૪૨) point to two forms કિશું and શું. The fact that કિં is adhered to in માનદ્યુ કિશાકારણ at the risk of infringing metrical rules, shows that કિશું was the more generally used form of the two, શું being a new evolution, forcing its way, but not yet widely accepted. But a matter of greater significance is this viz that વિસિં was the form (of ચીદં) in the *Mugdhāvabodha* times (see the work, p. 16, col 2 p. 17, col 1),—it was also કિંદું (p. 3, col 1), and it is found in the form વિશું in *Vasanta vildsa*. I think then, that these changes of સિં (—with) to શું and કિસિં to વિશું would justify us in regarding the language of *Vasanta vildsa* as "half

19 Of કિં સિં(=કસ્ય-કેન-સદ), *Mugdhāvabodha Auktika* p. 3, col 1

20 *Mugdhāvabodha* being written in V S 1450 and *Vasanta Vildsa* in V S 1508.

a century later than that of the *Mugdhārabodha Auktika*, and therefore we may discard Mr. Keśavlīl Dhrova's theory and take *Vasantavilāsa* as marking the language of its own time. The fact that the *Kāñchade-prabandha* has किसी and किस्यु (Kāñchā I, st. 21, 22) only five years after the *Vasantavilāsa* is also note-worthy किसु and किस्यु being very near each other.

[Incidentally, we may note that whereas किसु-किस्यु drops the कि and becomes ક્ષિ in Gujarāti, Hindi drops the ક્ષિ and evolves from the first portion (કિ) plus the vowel remnant left after the elision of સુ, the word ક્ષયા, and the vanished સ or શ reappears occasionally in inflectional forms only as an apparently adventitious letter, e. g. કિસકારણ (cf. કિસકારણ of *Vasantavilāsa*, 24), કિસમે, કિસકો, કિસે, કિસકા, કિસમે, જિસ, ઇસ, ઉસ, also as inflectional bases would point to કીદશ, ઇદશ and some conjectural substitute for તાદ્ય, ઓ=that (from અદ્ય) being a probable parent (corresponding to ઓદ *Apabhramsha*, *Si. He.* VIII-iv-364.)]

इसु (२३) and जिसी (१६) are more or less on the same footing as किसी as regards their development, for they have evolved out of ईसिंड (=ઈંડિ) and જिसिंડ (=યાદૂરી) of the *Mugdhārabodha* (p. 16, col. 2); thus lending support to the fixing of the language in *Vasantavilāsa* half a century later than that of the *Auktika*.

रासु, रमट, करट are the usual *Apabhramsha* features which have come down into the later stages.

The य added to च in विच्यारि (२४) is, as I have already pointed out<sup>21</sup> before, intended to mark the Sanskrit sound of च as distinguished from the generally prevalent Prākrit sound.

### (b) कान्हडदेव्रवन्ध

(V. S. 1512=A. D. 1456)

This epic is a valuable find to the student of linguistic evolution in the case of Gujarāti and its sister languages. Next after the *Mugdhārabodha Auktika*, in point of time, not in importance,—for in importance both the works are equally valuable—this work stands as a further land-mark for our guidance, as it

21. See Vol. I of these Lectures, pp. 345-346.

contains evolutions of the language, continued upto a further period of over half a century, with some variations marking further progress. Let us take some examples —

- (a) The simplified conjunct, or the softened nasal, with a lengthened preceding vowel, can be seen here in abundance, — e. g. સાપ, યાત, પાયરી, વાંદા, દીઠડ, ફાંપદ, ચાંપદ, જાંદુ (p. 12), લાગ, ભાગ (p. 9), &c., &c.;
- (b) સિં ( = ગુ what ) p. 12, l. 1 is found as a further step than in *Mugdhabodha Auktika* which has કિસિં (p. 17, col. 1) or કિસં (p. 3, col. 2), of course કિં has no direct connection with સિં; કિસિં has,
- (c) કિં (p. 12, l. 2) is like the જિં in the *Mugdhabodha* (p. 16, col. 1.),
- (d) તણ is found as a pure termination attached to words; e. g. પ્રથ્યેતણ (p. 11), દેવતણ (p. 17), and several other places, — only at p. 1 we come across the old relic, તાસતણ which, as already observed before, must have become crystallized into a compact form with the genitive nature of the ણ worn out,
- (e) Furthermore, we find the later evolutes of this તણ in ણ, the present day genitive termination, e. g. છોટાંની (p. 11, l. 1),
- (f) નાં (pp. 4, 5, 11, 96, 97, &c.) and અનાં (p. 78 &c.) are found indiscriminately in this work, the process of dropping the unaccented initial vowel being optional in this case as in the case of અછાં and છાં to be noticed just below, the reason being most probably that the older form (અનાં) lingered for a long time even after the birth of the new one (નાં), and so far as this particular word is concerned, the state of things is just the same even in our present day Gujarātī, અને as well as ને being in vogue, નાં has further dwindled into નિ also (p. 96, st. 263, p. 97 st. 275, &c.),
- (g) અછાં (p. 66), અછિં (p. 31), છાં (p. 69, p. 66) and છિ (p. 60 — prose) are found, all used at will, in this work. The same remark as in the case of અનાં-નાં applies in

this case as regards the dropping of the unaccented initial vowel, with this modification, that in the present day Gñjarātī we have only the final form એ and none other,

(h) The general, almost universal, practice of the final અણ (in verbal present tense and nominal instrumental and locative cases) found in this work is found to have been broken in a few instances —

*Verb*—P. 13. આવે, દાવે, રાવે;

P. 12. આવે, મહેલાવે;

P. 14. કરેજે<sup>22</sup> (imperative), from કરીને-કરીજણ;

P. 14. છોડાવે;

P. 24. ઉરેલે,

*Noun*—P. 23. જીંચે ટાઈ;

P. 15. સરખે ઘોડે;

P. 24. ભાગે કણસે;

P. 7. ગામે,

P. 33. ગમિ and also ગમણ;

P. 47. ગમેગમે, also ગમિગમિ (p. 91),

P. 88. તુરકે.

There are not many instances of this apparently exceptional use in this work. How are we to account for this anomaly? Two explanations are possible—viz

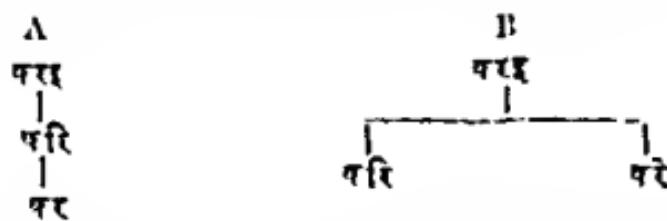
(1) That the further evolinte એ had begun to come into use and was just peeping in along with the still general form અણ; or (2) that these cases of એ are the result of mislection for અણ or ણ which also was a form, though at a later period, but jostling along with અણ at one time. It is seen in this hook too (કાન્દદેવિ, p. 91, ચતુર્દિંદિ p. 90, &c.)

To me the latter explanation appears reasonable. For the form એ has come into the language at a very late stage in its history and its appearance in V. S. 1512 is really improbable and the

22. Although the final form is imperative, the original one is passive 3rd person singular present tense indicative mood, hence this instance is included under the અણ of the present tense.

metrical quantity would remain unaffected by altering the ક into કા (or ક where ક may be lengthened at will).

It may be noted that the form in ક has no doubt come from કા, though not through the form in ક. The simultaneous use, at one stage of the language, of કા and ક should present no difficulty. The following tabular form will make the situation clear.



A does not represent the true course of evolution while B does. My main reason is that the કિંગ (or rather the અર્પિંગ) son of ક and કો can come from કા-કા (through કાય-કાય), and is impossible to be evolved from ક-ક. It may be remarked on diagram B that પરિ the elder child was born to the parent પરા at an old age and reigned along with the parent for some time; the younger child પર was born only shortly before the parent's death, and lived along with the parent during the latter's worn out age, and has eventually succeeded as the sole heir now, (L.) કુણાદ (Khand 11, st. 99, p. 38)

I have already noticed this word in the first volume of the *e* Lectures (pp. 237, 240-241 and 248). I may add here a remark that this odd formation of the verbal root-stem from પ્રાત-પત્ત-પ્રદુચ્ય by a reverse process (as explained by me there) is accounted for by Hemachandra in a different but unconvincing manner. *Si* *He* VIII iv-390 specially framed as it were for this purpose, gives દુચ્ય as an *ādesa* for કા when it bears the sense of પ્રયાસિ (sufficiency) મુદ્ર પ્રયાસી દુચ્ય ॥ ૮-૪-૩૯૦ ॥ અપથશ મુદ્ર પ્રયાસીદ્વારે વર-માનસ્ય દુચ્ય દૃથાદેશો ભવતિ ॥ The illustration given by Hemachandra અદ્વિતી પ્રદુચ્યદ નાદુ (My husband reaches (my) lip'), shows the sense, "to reach" in which we now use દુચ્ય.

I am afraid this is rather a fanciful and artificial analysis of a root found in actual existence in what Hemachandra believed to

be a synthetic form viz पृच्छ. There are two fatal flaws in the analysis given by Hemachandra

(a) The प of पृच्छ is not accounted for either in the *sūtra* or in the gloss, possibly Hemachandra takes it as formed from प prefixed to च, but then प्रभु can hardly have the sense 'to reach' (प्रभु=to be powerful to be able, to be प्राप्ति and hence to reach is not very happy)

(b) The च in पत्त (from प्राप्त) which accounts for the त in पृच्छ-पृत्त्य (Gn.) as well as for the च in पृच्छतु, has a justification of its own whereas in पृच्छ the च्छ is imaginary and baseless. Of course Hemachandra was not expected to know that several centuries after him Gujarati would have पृत्त्य also. None the less the derivation from प्राप्त has this in its favour. What I mean is that Gujarati पृत्त्य indicates प्राप्त more clearly than any artificial *adeśa* like पृच्छ with a प (प्र) thrown in leading back to nowhere.

In Vol I of these Lectures at p. 240 I have said that the च could only be formed if त्य had existed in पृत्त्य. But it seems this is not an absolutely necessary condition for Pr पत्त (Skr वत्त) has विच्छ in *Apabhramsa* (S. He VIH 17-421) and रक्षसि in the last illustration to *S. He* VIII 17 422 is traceable to Skr रक्ष (रत्त Pr) so also<sup>23</sup> विच्छ from Skr विभक् (Pr विद्त), which yields वृच्छतु in Gujarati. All these show that च by itself could in some cases turn into च्छ. These words विच्छ, रक्ष and विहृच्छ go further to support the derivation of पृच्छ from प्राप्त (पत्त)

(ग) सीतादरण by Karmann

(V S 1526=A D 1470)

In the opening of this poem the author tells us the date and name of the work —

सैवत पत्तर उविसद् सीतादरणविचार  
कर जोडी कर्मण वीनपट् भम्ह दीगोलाआपार ॥३॥

23 ते पमह कोलतुलणे सयलफणामणिमसत्तपिदिविम्भ ।  
उव्विहित जो बहुसिर विहत्त लहुय घावलयम्॥

(Gauda 1st 51)

[The Ms. of this work was supplied to me by Mr Kessavlal H. Dhruva, B.A. The date of the copy is V. S. 1605].

*SPECIMENS.*

(1) લબોર વિધનદર(જ) પદિદુ તદ્દસ્યું નામ !  
 શુર તેવીસદુ તુહા તવદુ કરું કરદુ પ્રણામ ॥૧॥  
 સરસતિ સામિણિ વીનર ગાડિસ્યું તુહા પસાડ ।  
 સાચા અદર મેલુરે કરું લાગદ પાડ ॥૨॥  
 દેવ સને ચલણે નમું વિભોવન છાડ જે માડ ।  
 કર જોડી કરું વિનવદ અહે ગાડ અયોધ્યારાય ॥૪॥

(2) કૌશલ્યાનદ મંદિર ચારિ  
 ચ્યારી મિલા ચધાવદ નારિ ।  
 ગ્રાન્ધણ વેદ ભણદ તિદા ચ્યાર  
 સતોષુ સદ્યલુ સંતાર ॥૬૦૭॥

(3) રિભીણ વીનતી કરદ  
 નામિ તુહારદ સલ્લદ તરદ ।  
 દિન દિન દિઉદ્ધુ અધિરું મામ  
 સ્વામી જોડ નિહાલી જ્ઞાન ॥૯૧૨॥

(૪) અષૃત આદાર ન દ્રાપદ કોડ  
 સ્વામી આપ સંભારી જોડ ।  
 અહુનદ દિવસ હુભા ઘણ વહુ  
 પાછ સેન ચલાડુ સહુ ॥૯૧૩॥

(૫) રાગ મીમપલાસી  
 અયોધ્યા સ્થાનક રામ તુજ્જારું । વાલિદુ કાદ વિણાસિં ।  
 સવલમણી લઘીદ કરિ સમહિં । હવિ કિસી કહેસ્યું ॥૭૦॥

(૬) જે નાસસિ તે કામ ર્સિ કરિસદ ॥૭૨॥

(૭) કર જોડી નાં ફર વીનતિ હુ મારદ હુ તારદ ।  
 રુદ્દ ખિરુદ્દ જે નર જરસદ અંતકાલિ જરસરદ ॥૭૪॥  
 અભસઠિ તીરથ મદ અવગાણં રામચંદ જુ દીઠા ।  
 ફંકોધ્યો લેરે નદ પાટિ વિસારુ હરબ વદનિ હરિ કૂડા ॥૭૫॥

(૮) એક દુલ તુજ્જ આગદ સાલદ  
 માય વિયોગ્યાં તાત ।

हुं जाणूं म पूछेसि उद्दमण  
वदतां कहिसुं वात ॥३०॥

(९) वर वंछित अहो मागिसिडं  
अवर नही अहो काज ।  
रामचंद्र वनि भोकलु  
भरप बद्दाट राजि ॥१२॥

(१०) तिहां धिका राम सांचरिया  
अनदिन भारगि थाई ॥२४॥

(११) चित्रकोटिधिकुं करिबं पीदाणं  
पंचवटी गईया ।

I have marked in black type in these extracts the words which indicate the linguistic peculiarities of the period. Thus:—

- (a) अहू (uncontracted स्वरूपम्) is found in तवहू, करहू, आगद, &c. (present tense); हुआरहू (instr.); अद्वनहू (dative); et cetera;
- (b) धू—genitive termination, rare;
- (c) गाहूस्पूं, मागिसिडं, कदेस्पूं; नाससि; अपलहू etc. (future).
- (d) weak ह in तुहू (St. 1); अहो (St. 4, 12); तुज्जारहू (St. 512); अद्वनहू (St. 513);
- (e) Strong ह in तुज (St. 2);
- (f) The locative in ह in मंदिरि (St. 567); पाहू (St. 2); रुहू and विस्तहू (St. 74); माटि (St. 75),
- (g) Instrumental in ह in नामि (St. 512) &c.;
- (h) The Sanskrit sound of च marked by य in च्यारि, च्यार (St. 507);
- (i) तिहां quantitatively equal to त्वां in St. 507;
- (j) हु as an उपक्रियापद in दिउहु (St. 512),
- (k) किसी for युं (St. 70);
- (l) तिहां धिका (St. 24) and चित्रकोटिधिकुं (specimen No. 22) illustrating the origin of the ablative धी (M. Guj.), where धिकुं means स्थितक or स्थितिक and the preceding form is in the locative form;
- (m) the peculiar writing form for सिडं viz. सिं, in सिं (st. 72)=युं (what), and कहिसुं (st. 30)=कहिसुं (future of

कह) which may, in a way, physically indicate the phonetic combination of ए and अ eventually leading to ए through स्वं;—unless the writing is an error of the scribe, this being a rare manifestation and, सिंच being found in this very work, मागिसिंच (St. 12);

(n) ले॒र्न॒इ (St. 75); जो॒रीन॒इ (St. 74); the extension of the ज्यान्त form by the addition of नह (=and) in these forms heralds that idiom of M. Gujarāti, करने (=having done);

(o) घलेण (St. 4). The ल for र here, an unintentional Māgadhi feature, is found in पेप्हरास supra (fifteenth century V. S.); also जंतुस्त्रामिरास V. S. 1266 जिण चउविस पद नमेवि गुठ चडण नमेवि ॥१॥; its presence here, a century later, would show that the word was transmitted as an accepted adoption.

(p) तु॒ (St. 80). We noticed this contraction of Pr.-Ap. हृ॒ in कांसूरमंजरी चउपर् V. S. 1605; (see *supra* p. 26); but this is nearly three quarters of a century earlier than that (*Siddharaya* being written in V. S. 1526).

(q) सप्त॒- (St. 507). The aspiration of the ग (evolute of फ) into घ is to be noted.

These are the principal features, others may be picked up also by a closer examination.

(प) दशमस्कंध by Keśava.

(V. S. 1529=1473 A. D.) Date of copy V. S. 1787.

[The Ms. of this work belongs to the Forbes Gujarāti Sabhā, Bombay. I was allowed an inspection of it.]

Specimens—

1st Sarga

संसारी पदता सहु। अबलोकी अंष्टूप ॥

दया करी दीवो कीयो॥ थीभागवत स्वरूप ॥१॥

31st Sarga

विष्णू विप्र जे अंतर करे।

ते नर नर्स माहि संचरे॥

पिप्र रुपे विचरे मही मांत ।  
मूढा न जाणे ते महीमाय ॥२६॥

I give these instances to show the opposite state of things when the scribe tampers with the original and adopts the forms of his own period. This will show that what in V. S. 1529 should have been करइ &c. was turned into के in V. S. 1787. This, in an incidental way, supports the view I take of the gradual evolution of the अइ to ए after 1750 V. S.

(८) कादम्बरी by Bhālana  
(about V. S. 1550)  
(Date of copy V. S. 1672)

Specimens:—

आयमता रविकेरा निरण  
एष चढ़ा मेद्देलीनि परण ।  
अरथमुखे सापस तप हेज  
जाणे तेणे पीतुं तेज ॥  
राता तथ दीसिछि तथा  
रकांवर उगमीयां यथा ।  
संद्या अद्या आयमति सर  
जाणि जदादयं सिद्धर ॥  
ठामि ठामि दूहिछि गाय  
संदर यन्द देहिना याय ।  
अग्रिहोत्रना हुइ दोम  
शामरक्तं दीसि ध्योम ॥

[I have taken this from Vrajalal Śāstri's *Gujardhi-bhāshā-nomāhāsa* (pp. 64-65). Mr. K. H. Dhruva's edition of the पूर्वभाग of this is available for further specimens.]

I must observe that the scribe who wrote over a century after the composition of this work, has transformed the अइ ending of Bhālana's time into the ए ending widely prevalent in the later period. The metrical test will show this in some cases, e. g.

केशवाली चित्रवर्णी दीसिछि प्रमाण

- (P. 56, 16, K. H. Dhruva's edition).

Here દીસિંહિ gives a great metrical deficiency whereas રીસિંહ અહુ would fill the metrical measure properly. શોભાન at p. 6, 1, 19 is a rare exception betraying the scribe who evidently forgot to turn it into શોભિ.

The few noteworthy features in the above extract are:—

(a) મેદેલીનિ 1. The change of અના-અનિ to નિ by apherisis.  
2. The combination of અનિ (=aad) with the જવાન્ત participle.

(b) દીસિંહિ The use of એ as an ઉપક્રિયાપદ, virtually as a termination, the original function of અહુ-એ in દીસિંહિ to express the present tense indicative being exhausted. However this exhaustion was not complete as we have દીસિંહિ also in the full indicative mood; also એહુ. Even now in poetry we have this form in the indicative mood

મન્દ મન્દ સમીર એહુ  
તરુંજમાં બદુ ન્દાટતો

(Kântâ, by Manilal N. Dwivedi.)  
આયે સમીર બદુ રમ્ય ઉપાસુલેપી

Kusamamâlâ p. 62. st. 2.  
બદુરૂપ અહુપમ પ્રેમ ધરે

Ibid p. 30  
ફદી મેથ બદુપ્ય બની વિલસે  
બદુ રંગ બની રસમેર ચસે

(Ibid p. 30. St. 4.)  
મંદવાઁઁ સમીર આ દિય જો ચદે રવ એ ફરી,  
નર્દિ સ્વર્પન, એ તો ગાન પેલી ગાય કોયલ માધુરી.

(Ibid p. 66 St. 1)

(c) દદિંહિ The same as above, the additional feature being the passive form —'are being milked'"  
(d) શામિ શામિ The એ here is not a contraction of અહુ. The metre will not accommodate અહુ. The અહુ would come

from के (अके)-अकि-अद्द; while this is from the noun without the क termination.

(च) हरिलीला by Bhima

" (V. S. 1541=1485 A. D.)

A few extracts from Kalā VIII.

पाछू आण्यू राज दुआरि  
सेवक भण्ड स्वामी अपथारि ॥ २४॥  
मोटु राजा एक मुकंद ।  
भवयभंजन थी गोविंद ।  
सेहनी नीति भण्ड प्रल्हाद  
छांडयु वीजु मिन्याराद ॥ २९ ॥  
भण्ड प्रल्हाद अछड़ इकसूर  
तप्तो भण्डलु से कसूर ॥ ३२ ॥  
नारद तपां वधन छिं जेह ॥ ३३ ॥  
पुत्र कलन नवि आदर करद ॥ ३९ ॥  
एणीपरि फेरा फिरद भपारि  
भवसागर नवि पामि पार ॥ ४२॥

24. Vrajlal Sastri gives V. S. 1540 as the date of this work (*Gujardali-bhāshā-no itihāsa*, p. 65, A. D. 1866 edition). I have before me a Ms. which was copied in V. S. 1574 (lent to me kindly by Mr. Hirallal T. Parekh, Assistant Secretary, Gujarat Vernacular Society Ahmedabad) which has the following in the concluding lines.—

सोलकला संपूरण कथा  
मोहद जंतणां मन यथा ॥ ६ ॥  
आसो मासतणी पूर्णिमा  
जाणे किरि ऊयु चंदमा ।  
सोलकला शशिहर सकलेक  
ए श्रीकृष्ण कथा निकलेक ॥ ७ ॥  
संवत १५ रुदनीबीस  
(वरस एक उपरि च्यालीस)

(The last line is taken from another Ms. of V. S. 1644) This would indicate V. S. 1541.

विष्णु विना छूटीइ नही ॥ ४३ ॥  
 भगि प्रलहाद पिता अवधारि  
 कालसर्प कहीइ संसार ॥ ५२ ॥  
 स्तंभ मांदि बहुउ छइ तेह ॥ ५५ ॥

We find here the contactual vowels (स्वरपुण्य) अहू in abundance: भणइ, अहूइ, करइ, फिरइ, छइ, यइ, the same contracted into इ in पसि, भणि; the form अहू simultaneously with its mutilated evolute अ॒, the passive forms शूटीइ and कदीइ which are the fotermediate steps between those in इयइ (कहियइ) and the form in इये (कहिये)-M. Guj.-which changes the voice and the person, the अ॒ contracted into उ in मोउ, बीरु, भणु, छु, यइ, the purely terminal stage of त्यु in नारदतर्णा; features all, which mark the period of the work characteristically.

### (८) प्रयोग प्रकाश

(V. S. 1546 = 1490 A. D.)

This is also by Bhims, the author of *Hari-Lila*. He wrote it in V. S. 1546 as he says in the conclusion:—

संवत् पंचर रद्दनि वीस  
पट आगवां वरस च्यालीस  
इश्विरायन वर्षाकृतु सार  
आदण शुद्धि दशमी गुरुवार ॥ ७२ ॥

कीयु एह प्रवौध प्रकाश ॥ ३४ ॥

**Specimens—**

Prakřita I

‘‘) ਸਾਹਿ ਰਾਮਕ ਜੋਨਿਏਂ ਕਵਿਤ ਸੁਣ ਰਾਹਿਦਾਇਂ।’’

बड़ी किशाकारणि करी कीषु तद्वे उपाइ ॥ ९६ ॥

( २ ) शाहि शाहि रतिपति कहह

## किंशु एहेनु विश्वास

ये पापथका वीहाँ नहीं

करता हुँन विनाश ॥ ८३ ॥

( ३ ) काम कहह हैइ आंमला  
 पूम यथा सहयां सामला ।  
 ऊचा जइ मेघनइ मिटइ  
 कुल आपण् पठि निर्देलह ॥ ४४ ॥

( ४ ) पुरुपस्वभाप अउइ असंग  
 तथापि मायासरह संग ।  
 तेहनइ भन तन मइ सत सार  
 कीयु तेणइ सकलसंसार ॥ ७२ ॥

( ५ ) विनेक अहनइ सगपण सही  
 पिता एक माता ज्ञजइ ॥ ७४ ॥

*Praläsa II.*

( ६ ) भाइ विहिन यत यांधद प्रत ॥ ७४ ॥

We find the uncontracted स्वरूपम still potent and persistent in this period, both in the locative, dative and instrumental case-endings, e.g. आगइ, मेघनह, तेहनह, तेणह, अद्धनह and also in the present tense third personal singular ending, e. g. कहइ, सहवह, मिटइ, निर्देलह, अछह. The instrumental ह in मदिमाह and कारणि is also noteworthy, as also the locative हैह.

कियु in किचा कारणि and कियु are reminiscent of similar forms in *Vasanta-tildsa* of 38 years earlier date.

The spellings एहेड, तेहनह, it may be noted, are loose representatives of the strictly quantitative spellings एहुउ (or एहुउ), तेहुनइ (or तेहेनह).

The weak ह in अद्धनह is also shown by the test of metre.

सगपण has the tinge of modern Gujarati; but it simply shows that this formation dates back so far at least. विहिन is a stepping stone between Pr. चहिणी and M. Gnj. चहिन; the reversion of ण to न being noteworthy also.

The य in च्यालीस marks the Sanskrit sound of य.

I may add a few notable forms:

याशह (future), *Praläsa III* St 4

शीशाह (future, passive) " "

करशि (future) " "

and the suffix **રેણિ** (=માટે, *for* in માટેરેણિ, *Prakâs* III St. 4, the **રેણિ** given as a **નિપત્તિ** by Hemachandra in the sense of તાદ્યં (S. Hs. VIII iv. 425) making its presence felt even at this period, and, as we find even some decades later on, as it showed itself in *Vasantavîlîsa* four decades earlier (મદનરેણિ, st. 13.)

[The MSS. of this work were supplied to me by Mr. Tansukha-râm M. Tripathi B. A. and by Mr. Hiralal T. Parekh B. A. Secretary, Gujarât Vernaclular Society Ahmedabad.]

(જ) વિમલપ્રશ્નય by Lavanayasa gani

(V. S 1568=1512 A. D.)

*Specimens—Khanda IV*

બીરમતિ તવ પીહરિ ગઈ સંપત્તિ સઘલી પૂઠિં રહી ।  
 સાથિં બેટ વિમલહુમાર જે કીધડ માડલા જુદાર ॥ ૬૭ ॥  
 આગાં ભાઈ ઘરિ અણાથિ આવી વહિનર બેટા લાપિ ।  
 મોટાં પણ માંહિંદ્યાં રલા અન્નપાન તુ પૂરાં ફરા ॥ ૬૮ ॥  
 જાં પોતાં હુદુ ઝુણ્ય પ્રકાસ તા ઘરિ લવિશી લોલવિલાસ ।  
 પાપતણ જવ પાછ પદા તવ ઘરિ પૂરિ પૂરસ અદા ॥ ૬૯ ॥  
 રહિં વિમલ માદ્યુ ચુદસાલિ ચારાં ચચડ વદજી વાલિ ।  
 તેળિ અવસરિ દેવી અદિગા આણ્યાં હિ આરાસળિ ધિકાં ॥ ૭૦ ॥  
 નવયૌત્રન નવલ સંયોગ દેખો દેવી ચંછાં ખોગ ।  
 ફૂંભર ફદ્દ પરનારી નીમ અળપરણિં હુદુ સાંતુ ( ? માણ ) કિમ ॥ ૭૧ ॥  
 શીળ લગા ( ? લસાં ) તઠી અદિગા  
 વિળ વર દેવા પોતિં ધરા ( ? ધિકા ) ॥ ૭૨ ॥

Noteworthy features —

- (a) The અં and ઇ endings may be perceived at a glance
- (b) The aspiration of ગ into ઘ in સઘલી,
- (c) સાથિં and લાપિ both remnants of the locative,
- (d) The absence of ઇ in મોગી,
- (e) માદિહૃપા (St. 68)      આરાસળિધિકા (St. 70)      પોતિંધરા (ધિકા) (St. 72)      } The ધિ evolved from સ્થિતરા, the governing by this ધા, ધિકા, of the locative case in the main word.

(f) माश्य—This श्य (=with) is attached to मा almost as a termination.

(g) वंशद्. The shortening of the आ of वा in पाश्यति.

(h) जां-तां. These are in the adverbial sense of 'as long as,' 'so long'. The forms are originally ablative or locative ( जाम-ताम, जस्मि-तस्मि, यस्मिन्-तस्मिन्.)

( ज ) माधवानलदोग्धकप्रबन्ध

by Gaṇapati ( a Kāyastha )

( V. S. 1584 = 1528 A. D.)

(वैद मुजाम चाण शाशी विक्रम वरस रिचार )

Specimens:—*Āṅga* VIII.

( a ) निरती निर्मल चंदलु ऊमित अंदर रेसि ।

म कू उचारसि मरथला मम आहु चालेसि ॥ ३३ ॥

चंदनि चरतुं चंदला संतोष शिरनामि ।

जां जीवह तां ज ( १४ ) एह असु परि पणह ठामि ॥ ३४ ॥

(b) *Āṅga* VII

सती दीठी सुंदरी साप रहू उसहीण ।

इंदु अमानि घरि गयु तेणि परि दीसह सीण ॥ ४०६ ॥

Noticeable points—

- (1) The इ-उ-अह endings are prominent even at the close of the sixteenth century V. S.
- (2) रेसि—This तादेष्य ending is hardly in the sense of "for" here; it would carry a locative idea, it seems, could it be that the original sense of रेसि was being forgotten in this later age?
- (3) जां-तां=as long as, an long.—See note (h) in this lecture, *supra* in *Vimala-prabandha* extracts.
- (4) चालेसि      } उचारसि      } future; variants.
- (5) अह—The ह is weak.
- (6) एणह ठामि—The अह and ह are really the same; ह attached to अक्र and to word without क्र.

(7) તેણિ પરિ—The ણ added to તે; cf.

વૈશંપાયન એણિપેર ચોલ્યા

in Gujaraતી poetry of two or three centuries ago.

(અ) વૈતાલપંચવીસી

(V. S. 1619=A. D. 1563)

Specimens:—

જંદુદ્રીપ માંદિ અછે ભરત ખેત્ર સુવિચાર ।  
 તસ મણે બદ્ધ દેશ છે અંગ વંગ મલવાર ॥ ૧૪ ॥  
 તે સવિ માંદિ સૂલગુ વાદ માટવેદેશ ।  
 તિહાં વજેણી વરનયર સિપ્રા વહિં સુવિશેપ ॥ ૧૯ ॥  
 ઠાર્મિ ઠાર્મિ દાલ્યા વહિ કાચ  
 મુરબ જાણે પાણી સાચ ।  
 મુરિલ જે નવિ જાણી ભેય  
 ડતારી પગમોજાં તેય ॥ ૨૦ ॥  
 લેદ પિંડનિ સૂર્યિ જામ  
 પ્રણકર દેહિં રાજા તામ ।  
 પ્રણકર દેખી ચિતે દૂસરે  
 એ પિંડ કિદ્દનિ દેવસ્થૂ ॥ ૬૮૮ ॥

The words printed in black type are typical. જાણે in one place and જાણિ in another are explainable either by the indifference of the later date scribe, or by the forms being used indifferently in the time when the hook was composed; the former theory being more likely.

These specimens will suffice. We then come to Nâkar (V. S. 1550 to 1630-40), Viśvauāth Jāuf (V. S. 1708), Vishnudâsa, Śivadâsa, Akho, Premânanda, Bâmala, Vallabha; but we need not spend time on linguistic extracts in their case. They mark the transition from the old to the new, and the specimens are available in published works.

We may, with advantage, turn to prose literature of the older centuries, that is available to us.

#### PROSE WORKS.

First of all I pick up prose passages belonging to the period between V. S. 1257 and V. S. 1497. Chimanlâl Dalâl, from whose

report I extract these, claims them as specimens of Gujarati. I gravely doubt if the language can correctly bear that name. The specimens will speak for themselves. Here they are—

I. V. S. 1257

### नवकारव्याख्यान

यत नमस्कार अतीत अनारं धड्कीस आदि जिनोता सार ए तुम्हे विसेपहर दियातण् प्रस्तारि अर्पयुक्तु घ्येय ध्यातव्यु गुणेवड पदेवड ॥

II. V. S. 1380

### आलोयणा (Translation)

तिणि कारणि चतुर्दश पूर्वेव चतुर्दशपूर्वसंबंधित ध्यातं परित्यजित पूर्वपरमेष्ठिनमस्कार स्मरहु ततु तुम्हि मिशेपि स्मरेवड अनए परमेष्ठरि तीर्पत्तरदेपि इस्तड अर्पु भणियड अछारं अनए संहारतणड प्रतिभड म करितउ अनए क्रदि नमस्कार इहालोकि संपादिय ॥

III. V. S. 1360

### अतिचार (Translation)

मृपावारि साहसातकारि आळु अन्याख्यातु दीपड रहसमंत्र भेदु कीषु मृपोपदेह दीपड कूडउ लेखउ लिपिउ कूडी सापि थापणि भोसड इणहए तउ राडि मेहि कटहु विदामिहि जु कोइ अतिचार मृपावारि मति भव सगळाइ माहि हुइ निमिपि विमिपि मिच्छा मि दुकडं ॥

IV. V. S. 1449

### गणितसार (Translation)

शिंदु भणीइ देवापिदेहु भट्टारकु मोहेशु किंच जु परमेष्ठर कैलासं शिपरमंदहु पार्वतीहृदयरमणु विश्वापि जिणि विष नीपजाविडं तसु नमस्कार करीड वाणावदोपनार्थ वाल भणीइ अहान तीई गिर्दि अपबोध जाणिवा तणए अर्थि आत्मीययशोद्दहर्यर्थ थेपस्करणार्थ थीघराचार्य गणितु प्रकटीकरु ॥

V. V. S. 1497

### संग्रहणीवालावदोध

(Date of copy V. S. 1548)

सद्गुदकन्दलि पूछि विशेष अर्पडं ध्याण करिवडं । जे भव्य जीव एह तेह-नए ए संघयणितु विचार कहतां कर्मधय होइ तदतणए ए विचार जोहडं जाणिवु जिम से भव्यजीवनए क्रदिवडि होइ ॥

You will at once perceive that the language in these extracts resembles more or less that in the *Mugdhātābodhā Auktika*, which was composed in V. S. 1450. If I do not accept this work of V. S. 1450 as written in *Gujarātī*, *a fortiori* I must refuse to recognise the language of the above extracts as *Gujarātī*. I have already stated that it should be called *Gurjara Apabhramśa*.

Incidentally, I may point out that in some cases the above extracts disclose the style of explanatory gloss, thus, in extract IV वाल भणी अशान stands for वाल कदेता (=एट्टे, cf. M. महणे which is from भण्-भणिज्जइ-भण्यते) अशान, तीह किंहि stands for तेअोह शुं (तेपां किंम्), अवयोध जाणिवा तणां भर्ति- i. e. अवयोध=जाणुं, ते तणे अपैं, the whole being an explanation of वालानामवयोधार्थम्.

I must add a few more specimens of a later period, V. S. 1515 to 1571. Here they are —

#### V. S. 1515.

#### पडावद्यकवालावदोध by *Hemachandra*

पाडलीहुरि नगरि नंदराप हुउ । तीण अनेक अगरा वर करी लोक इमी  
सोनड एरडड मेलिंड । सोने भंडर भयां कूभा भयां सोनानी इंगरी श्रीपी ।

#### V. S. 1551. (Date of copy)

#### बृहद्चाणान्य

- (a) निरंतर भर्तारनी भक्ति करद । सतत निरंतर भक्त भोगन करद । अने  
आपणी इच्छा किया काये करद । ते सर्वे सोनायनी वर्धनी हुइ ॥८॥
- (b) येहाइ स्व आफणीइं प्रदा नहीं तेहाइ शास्त्र न करद । यिम लोचन  
नेन पालाइ दर्पण आरीछ शुं करद ॥ १३ ॥

[Note the ablative form हुच्छा (the *anuśādra* being the indicator of that case), a formation unknown to *Gujarātī* proper and belonging to the *Gurjara Apabhramśa* period].

#### V. S. 1571

#### अंबडकथा

हुं करवक । माहद पिता अंबड जन्मलगाह दिल्दी विर्घनः धननह वीपह  
सर्वे भमर । मंत्र यंत्र ओगर ते धननादि यर्दूर वरद पण काह धन न पामह ।  
जाहु जातु धनगिरि पर्वति श्रीगोरपदपोगिनी समीपि गिड ॥

IX. V. S. 1620 or thereabouts—

घेतालपचीसी by a pupil of Hiravijaya Sûri

पछे ते लाडुभा महि धकु कडकु एक फूतरा नइ धातिड । ते कुतरु सउ ।  
पछे ते राजा पदमावती उपरि कोप्पु । ए पाविणीतुं संभावि न करो मादरा  
मिन्नी मारणद्वार । पछे प्रथान घोडु राजा तुं ताहां जा । जइ नइ पदमावतीनी  
जांधी वशलु करजे । पगडु नेउर लेइ आव ॥

(P. 101; work edited by Jagajirana D. Modi)

[Note—1. धातिड, cf. Marâthi धातळे;

2. नेउर; this is the Prâkrit form; Gujarâti corruption  
is नेपुर;

3. लाडुभामहिपकु कडकु; the word पकु (परो), the precursor  
of the ablative termination (indeclinable) पकी in  
M. Gujarâti, is initially an adjectival form from  
स्पकु (i. e. its past participle form).]

There are some who contend that this apparently pre-Gujarâti language is confined to Jain literature, religious as well as profane, and therefore it does not represent the current language of the times, because the Jain writers adopted the artificial forms and style of the Prâkritis which had disappeared long long ago. A very powerful reply to this objection has been elaborately given by Mr. Manilal Bakorhhal Vyâsa in his Introduction to *Vimala prabandha* edited by him. I may here urge the simple consideration that if we can show specimens of similar linguistic features in works written by non-Jain writers, the contention of these one-sided advocates can at once be demolished. As regards poetry we have seen in the specimens already given above that a great many of these are from non-Jain writers. In prose also it is easy to cite similar instances. I give only a few below:

X. V. S. 1650 (probable date of copy)—

पांडची गीता

[This is found in a collection of different MSS., bound together which I was able to look into through the courtesy of the owner Mr. Natavarlal I. Desai of the Gujarâti Press. No specific date

is noted in this *Pāndara Gaīd* but another Ms preceding it, written in the same hand, bears 1650 V S as the date of copying. From this and the linguistic features in the work we may safely assign to it the close of the sixteenth century as the date of composition, allowing 50 to 80 years as a possible gap between composition and transcription.]

(a) ઉધવ કહિલિ । વાસુદેવના તર્જી છાંદીનિ અનિ બીજા દેવના ઉપાસિ । તે અમ જાણત યે તરફ ખુડ ગગાનિદુ કાઠિ કૃપ વીરત પણીનિ પાણી પીઇલિ ॥૧૬॥

(b) યમદર્શિ બોલ્યા । તે પુરુણના સર્વ વર્ત્ત સદાહિ લાલી તેદનિ નિત્ય માગાલ્ય । યેદના હર્ષના વિષિ ભગવાન થી વાસુદેવ વસિ ॥ ૪૭ ॥

This work is arranged thus first a *śloka* in very corrupt Sanskrit is cited and below it is given a vernacular translation of it generally correct rarely faulty. I have quoted only the vernacular translation.

XI V S 1557

### ભુવનદીપક (Translation)

હર ધાતુ તણ સ્વરૂપ કદીશા ં ં ં જુ પુછુ ઉપમાનાતણી પૂછ્યા કરે  
જુ જુ શુદ્ધ ચદ્ર પાચદ્ર સ્થાન દેલા તુ કહિલુ । પુત્રજનમ હુશાર । અધગા દેલા તુ  
એ નાપી । ના દીજાંદા તણ ફલ ચોલીયિ ।

Note the form કદીશા, which correctly traceable to કહિસસાઈ-ક્ષપયિષ્યતે (passive)=will be stated eventually in M Gujarati comes to mean 'I shall state', active form. Also note the forms કરિ (in જુ કરિ=જો કરે) and દેલા (in તુ દેલા=તો દેયે), originally present tense indicative mood (does, sees), are at this stage used in an indefinite sense, here is the step through which the help of એ came in during the Modern Gujarati stage to fully supply the sense of the indicative mood, a point which will be discussed at length later on.

XII about the same time as *Bhuranaśipala* (i.e. about V S 1557,

### સામુદ્રિકશાલ

(Published by Mr Chhaganlal V. Raval in the *Gujarāt Śāla Patra* December 1908)

(૧) આદિ-પહિલ ઇવ નમસ્કરી ના પુરુણ લીતા લઘણ વદીસિ ।

(२) महाप्यनह पांच दीर्घ-लांका जोहर । पांच सप्तम-लाहरी । जाहर ।  
 (३) जहनह निलाहि रेखा ४ हुर तेहनउ ८० वर्ष अनह ६ रेखा हुर त  
 १०० वर्ष आश हुर ।

XIII V. S. 1581.

### नवतत्त्ववालाद्यवोध

फुली गोली अजमा पीपली मिरी भारंगी चंडि प्रसुत्र द्रव्य करी जपनी  
 हुर त वाय । कड़ ।

XIV V. S. 1582.

### जीवतत्त्वविचार

सिद्धना जीवनह तरह नधी योनि नधी जीव जिणवचन अणलतउ संसार  
 मांहि घर्णे फिरह । अनह घर्णे किरिसिह ।

XV V. S. 1582.

### स्वप्राप्याय (Translation)

प्राप्तार माहि जमि सखुद्रमाहि तरि तु गुडामनि कुठि जम्म हुर त पण  
 राजा हुर ॥ नाम्ये चरी अनि चाहि तु जे कोह गमातरि गीर हुर ते भारी  
 जतावद्दु ए विचार ॥

Note here also the indicative form turned into the indefinite  
 in जमि, तरि, हुर etc.

XVI V. S. 1612.

### अभ्यशाल

मुलि चिहु पगि ये अभ्य काला हुर त अपायाय ते यमदूतजाणिह । कालि  
 भमरा हुर त स्वामी नह मारह त याहु क्लेशनह वयारि प्रवासि मरण करह ।

XVII V. S. 1610 (date of copy)

### वैष्णवाहिक

(*Narulagranthāvalī*, II, pp. 42-46)

पठी पूर्वाभियुष विशि माधुं बहोलीनि दाप पखाणीए ।

काढी विहिली दीजि । पाढी पठी बाणीए ।

XVIII V. S. 1710 (date of copy)

### रात्रिभोजनगीत

(*Gujurdit-Bhūtakdno-Itihāsa, Vrajalalī Śāstra*, pp. 65-66)

દિવસાદ રંધાદ દિવસાદ જિમિયાદ !  
વિહાણે ભાજન માગતિ ઉત્તર ન તાસ કાડ !

I now cite some passages from the writings of Parsi authors before the formation of Modern Gujarātī.

XIX V. S. 1500 or thereabout.

(a) સમસ્યાણ બલદું દ્વાર રે ત્રન વેહેત ભૂમ છાંડીએ તાદ આતસ લદનિ  
જાત કાજાદ ! સમસ્યાણ ઢાહાર સીલાવા દીજિ । તિદાં થકી રે ત્રન વેહેત ભૂમ  
છાંડીએ ! નવીજોત કીજિ । જોતમાંહિદુ આતસ લર્દ તાલગિ જોત કીજિ । તાં લગિ  
આગામી જોતદુ ઢાહાર સીલાએ । તિદાં પદુ લર્દનિ પાત્રિ મેલનીએ બીજી જોત કીધી  
અછિ તિદાંદુ ઢાહાર સીલાએ । તાં લગિ પાત્રિ રહિવા દીજિ । ને તીવાર પર્દી સદ્ગુર  
જોત પ્રમાણ દ્વાર ॥

(This is an extract from a Ms. written by a Parsi name Bahram Lakhmidhara in V. S. 1507. It is a ritualistic prescription for kindling the sacred fire. The word ઢાહાર in this extract is obviously a mistake for ઢાર (ઢાર from Skr. ધાર=ashes). ઢાર સીલાએ  
and ઢાર સીલાવા દીજિ, meaning 'the ashes get cool', 'and allow the  
ashes to cool'.)

(b) પદ્ધ પૂછાએ જત રું જીતાણ તનદે' શર્દાએ' કર્દસંડ' પાતક કીષડ'  
જીણાદ' પાપકરી' આત્મારદ્દિ રૂસડ દોહિલદ નિમદ્દ: કીજાદ અદિ ।

(Extract from a Ms. of *Arda-Geira* in the possession of Mr. Behramgur T. Anklesaria of Santa-Cruz (Bombay); the concluding colophon shows that it was copied in V. S. 1507 at *Natasârî* (*Nâgasârîkâ*).

(c) પુષ્યમસ્યો ગાધાર તલ્લોરદ્દિ નમસ્કારદુ । પ્રત્યુત્તરવાંણી દોર્મિન્ડતરણી  
પ્રફુદ્વાણી પૂછવા તર્ણી જરપુભ તર્ણોઃ ॥ ૧ ॥ ચંદ્ર તે ભલો યિહરદ્દિ કેતલાદ્ર  
મદુષ્યદુ શુભ કલ્યાણ વર્તદ્ર । કિ રૂસ સાચદ્ર કેતલાદ્ર મદુષ્યદુ યિહરદ્દિ શુભ  
કલ્યાણદુ ફલ્યાણ । કાદું એક છિ । તે રૂમ ચોલાદ્ર જુ શુભ ભલું સંદું નિ રીનિતણ  
રીણું હુર । રીનિ તુસિ ચાદુ કાદું રદ્દિ શુભ કલ્યાણ ॥

(Gujarātī translation of Sanskrit text of *Ijishi* (*Yasna*); see Notes, p. 15 of this work, published by the Trustees of the Parsi Panchayat Funds.)

The language of these extracts is obviously of a period before or after 1500 V. S. The peculiar dative form made up by the application of the suffix *ંણ* (used abundantly in these translations) is very significant. It appears in the *Mugdhabodha Aulika* (V. S. 1450) very frequently, and is seen in Gujarati literature of the period about V. S. 1500.

We have surveyed above the evolution of the Gujarati language by looking at typical specimens of works of different periods, ranging from the eleventh century to the sixteenth century of the Vikrama era. In examining these specimens critically, the broad tests to be applied will be these:—

- (A) The distinctive phonetic features of the several stages of this evolution;
- (B) Palaeological shifting in grammatical forms;
- (C) The analytical or synthetic nature of the forms marking the several periods;
- and (D) The presence and frequency or prominence of certain special words distinctive of a period.

*A. First test; distinctive phonetic features of the several linguistic stages.*

We shall deal with each of these tests in fixing the course and stages of evolution of Gujarati.

- (a) First, then, we have (excluding the pre-Apabhramśa, i. e. Prākrit stage) the Apabhramśa stage. Its characteristic features are:—
  - (a) Preserving the *ં* in a conjunct;
  - (b) The interpolation of *ં* and thereby creating a conjunct, where such *ં* does not exist;
  - (c) The change of *ં* to *ંણ*;
  - (d) The irregularity of gender, marked in Sl. No. VIII-iv-445;
  - (e) The free use of the *ં* suffix;
  - (f) The suffix *ં* attached to nouns generally, but even to indeclinables and even verbs;

(g) Special forms like મહારડ, તુહારડ, અમહારડ, તુમહારડ, special *deletas* like કાણ, કાદું, તણ, કેર etc.

Remarks: (a) and (b) This feature has continued in into Gujarati and yielded words like પ્રગટ, on the one hand, and on the other, such words as ફરોડ (one crore), પડણું, સરાણ &c. noted in *Utsarga I* (પ્રથેપ), Section III of Lecture IV in the first volume of this work of mine,

(c) This feature has been noticed *supra* in Vol. I, Lecture IV, Section III *Utsarga XVII*, to mark its continuation into Gujarati.

(d) This feature has extended into Gujarati, which has મિત્ર (masc.), ગૃહ (neuter), ઉત્તર (masc.), પાત્ર (fem.), અતેદૃપ (fem.), પત્ર=a letter (masc.) &c. altering the original gender in Sanskrit.

(e) This feature has yielded in Gujarati the ઓ and ઇ endings of nouns (masc. and neuter respectively); see *supra* Vol. I, Lecture IV, Section I, *Utsarga II*.

(f) This suffix is generally regarded as the evolution of, or rather a substitute for, the Skr. suffix ક; but Dr. Tessitori has very suggestively pointed a conjectural ર suffix as the original of this ટ. This ટ suffix figures largely in Gujarati poetry e. g. મારી, સાદેલારી, કુલારું, &c. and in a few cases in Gujarati prose e. g. in રદોરું, રદોરું, રમદરું &c..

(g) These specialities are connecting links between Apabhramsa and Gujarati, e. g. the genitive forms રદારું &c.; the genitive terminations તણું, દું, કેરું; and the pronouns કાણ, કાદું, in Gujarati.

(h) *Post-Apabhramsa stage.*

(1) *Earlier Period.*

(a) Simplification of the conjunct, accompanied by the lengthening of the preceding short vowel;

(b) Softening of the nasal, with the lengthening of the preceding short vowel;

(c) Dropping of the unaccented initial syllable,  
 (d) The use of त् virtually as a termination to denote  
 the sense of the present tense indicative mood;  
 and (e) The retention of the सर्वामां-contextual vowels-  
 आ॒-अ॒ uncoalesced.

(2) Later Period.

In addition to the above—

(a) The change of आ॒-अ॒ to आ॑-अ॑ respectively,  
 (b) The change of non final त्-॒ to त्,  
 (c) The change of त् to त्, when it is in contact with  
 इ, उ or औ,  
 (d) The change of metrical त् to त्,  
 and (e) The substitution of आ॒ for इ॒ in the formation of  
 the past tense.

The period of pure Apabhramsa has already been shown as lasting upto the first half of the eleventh century of the Christian era—the beginning of the twelfth century of the Vikrama era. This statement, let it be remembered, is with reference to the language spoken by the people, as book language Apabhramsa appears to have lasted upto the end of the twelfth century A. D (=the middle of the thirteenth century Vikrama era). Thereafter gradually the language of Gujarat passed on into the several stages which I shall indicate soon below. The characteristic feature of the Apabhramsa stage need not, therefore detain us and we may deal with those of the post Apabhramsa stage—its earlier as well as its later period.

*Post Apabhramsa stage, two periods*

Earlier Period.—(1)—(a)

The simplified conjunct

We have traced the germs of this change back to Hema Chandra's time and earlier and still further back to

*The Simplified conjunct* Panini's time (see *supra* Vol I, Pp 891-892)

But as a distinctive feature this principle belongs to the post-Apabhramsa period undoubtedly. The time of the

*Mugdhāabodha Auktika* (V S 1400) marks the simplified conjunct as fully established. Its faint beginnings are visible in V S. 1363 (કરૂણારાસ specimen No (5) *supra*) till it eventually has a free play in V S 1412 (ગૌતમરાસ specimen (6) *supra*) and finally in less than four decades thereafter it has full play as a dominant feature (V S 1420 *Mugdhāabodha Auktika* and thereafter).

We come across some apparent exceptions in literature a good deal subsequent to the *Mugdhāabodha Auktika*, for instance *Vimala prabandha* (V S 1568) has forms like આગલિ (VII 36) દાગીદ (II 5) પ્રેર્ણ પરિદ, અર્પિદ દાગીદ (I 91) But against આગલિ we have આગલિ દાગીદ આગાદ also (I 92) and લગીદ is evidently an error for દાગીદ as the word it rhymes with is માગીદ while the last four words (પ્રેર્ણ etc.) are found in પસ્તુછદ, a composition in Jain poetry which aims at a classical appearance and as such naturally adopts in an artificial manner the obsolete Prakrit formations. Against these exceptions there are numerous cases of simplified conjunct in this *Prabandha* e.g. દાગ્દ માગ્દ (IV 40) અગ્દ (IV 94) and I suspect the apparent exceptions are the result of defective editing or errors of the over learned scribe.

(b) *Softening of the nasal* (i) — (b) This feature is of the same type inherently as (i) — (a) and calls for no detailed notice.

(i) — (c) *Dropping of the unaccented initial syllable*

This process, no doubt is as old as the hills. We find its germs in the Prakrit period and further back in the Sanskrit period (see *supra* p 373 of Vol I) and we can go still farther far away into pre Sanskrit times (*supra* pp 471-472), *argentum* (Lat) and રમતમ् Skr being traceable to a common source. But for a full and established sway of the principle we must come to the post *Apabhranga* stage. The most notable and time fixing word is પ્રસર (ઉપરસ્તુ-ઉપવિષતિ). We can at a glance into the specimens given above see that this change was in full swing about the time of

Gautama-Risa, V. S. 1412. (Specimen No. (6) above, pp. 12-13 *supra*); of course earlier stages will show the start of the change. I note this period as prominently marked by this principle.

(1)-(d) *The use of એ virtually as a termination.*

In this I take એ as representing all its forms in number and person; viz: એ, તિએ; એ, ઓ; એ. (તું લખ્યાનું, હમેં એ used as a લખિયાએ; તું લખેઠે, હમેં લખોઠો; તે લખેઠે, તેઓ લખેઠે). It may also be noted that this feature is confined to the present tense, indicative mood.

I regard this એ as a termination in Gujarati, and not, as some scholars view it, as an auxiliary verb (ઉપકિયાપદ, as they call it). My reasons are:—

- (a) એ in forms like લખેઠે &c. has lost its individual and independent status as a word;
- (b) It has no verbal sense, but only indicates the time and the mood sense.

We must remember that a large number of terminations were originally independent words which in course of time got reduced in form and function. એ in this position (લખેઠે etc.) is one such.

How this has happened may be inquired into with interest; એથેઠે is Shr. લિખતિ અસ્તિ, Pr. લિદાદ અસ્તિ, Ap. લિદાદ (or લિખાદ) અચાદ, Gurjara Ap. લિખાદ અચા (એ). Now, obviously અસ્તિ to અચા yield a repetition of the idea of existence, time, person, number &c. લિખતિ અસ્તિ would be bad Sanskrit, so also the rest bad grammar. Until the advent of the એ-અચા type, the form લિદાદ (લિખાદ) conveyed the full sense. But in course of time, its power to express the full idea of existence, time, &c. was exhausted, and લિખાદ-લખે assuming an indefinite sense (as in M. Guj. લખે is indefinite and not indicative mood—it is something like a conditional mood form), the indicative mood present tense idea had to be supplied by some other means, and એ, એ came in as a help or support, to finish that complete sense.

*Hindi, Marathi and other idioms compared and contrasted* This peculiar grammatical evolution in M. Guja-  
rat may, with interest, be compared and con-  
trasted with forms in other allied languages

used to convey the same idea. Thus —

Hindi—बोलता है, Marathi—बोलत आहे (some times simply बोलतो where really आहे is to be taken as present),

Surati Rural Gujuati— बोलतो छ Bengali has a similar form रজনী “পীরে, পীরে, জলে নামিতে ছে” আকাশবিদারিণী গংগা পীরে, পীরে, বাহিতে ছে”

(*Rajani*, by Bankim Chandra Chatterji Book IV, Chap. V, para 2)

In all these cases the literal sense is *speaking is*, i.e. *is speaking*, the forms बोलता, बोलत, बोलतो, नामिते, बাহিতে being present participles.<sup>25</sup> Thus the Surati rural form बोलতো ছে is psycho-

25 Bengali has also the type (সি) নামি=he descends, and this is the type without the কি support and with the তি termination (i.e. its evolved তি) in full possession of its potency. It is believed that the করিতে তি type is an artificial form coined by pedants who discarded colloquialisms like নামি ছে, পতু ছে &c. as too vulgar for literary forms. So I am told by a Bengali expert, Mr Churn Bandyopadhyaya, Lecturer in Bengal Language and Literature, Calcutta University. But on further questioning him as to what he meant by 'coined' form, he informs me that নামি তি (East Bengal), নামৰতি তি (North Bengal) and নামু তি (West Bengal), are the various types in vogue, and that out of these dialectic variations the নামি তি type was created artificially to suit the taste of all the parts of Bengal, and it was regarded as the literary form, which is said in use from the very earliest extant books *Sinaya purāna* &c. He adds that this 'artificial' form preponderates in the literature of East Bengal, as against that of West Bengal because this form is much nearer their own spoken dialectic form (নামি তি), and that this form was made universal by the Fort William College Pandits. I am highly indebted to Mr Churn Bandyopadhyaya for this extremely interesting history of the করিতে তি type. It enables me to come to the conclusion (especially from the fact noted in the italicized sentence above), that far from being an "artificially coined" form the করিতে তি type is but historically the true form out of which various dialectic forms: the *patent*

gically more correct than the general Gujarati form બોલેછે which inherently involves a tautology like *speaks is*. Yet the force of idiom makes the general Gujarati use (બોલેછે) classical for the tautology is not present when the original power of the representative of the *ti* termination in બોલે is exhausted. In fact બોલે in બોલેછે assumes the position of an incomplete idea like the present participle બોલતો.

It may be noted that such apparent and inherent psychological tautology plays an important part in the formation

*The psychological action of idioms in a language* compared with that in the conjunctive participle involves a similar or worse psychological under-

For કરીને, if analysed, means કરી=having done plus ને=and, having done, and the idea of and here is really implied in the idea presented by *having done*, 'having done it he went away' (ए करी-ए जातो रखो) being equal to 'he did it and he went away' (ए हेणे कर્यા भने ए गयो). This સ્વા termination is called a conjunctive participle by Dr Tessitori, this is very appropriate in view of the "and" idea conveyed by it. Therefore the word and is superfluous in 'having done and', yet the force of idiom makes કરીને a correct form, and the thought steps are something like these —

કરી=having done, then the speaker's mind pauses for the next idea and in catching the latter loses sight of the idea of and implied in the previous expression, and so takes hold of ને (=and) as a support a link

This psychological process of halting and marching with the help of a new prop is accentuated in cases like the following —

were evolved, and that all that has happened is that the Pandits only revived, if at all, (certainly not *coined*), the old type કારીને by the truly scientific method of seeing the common principle running through all the dialectic variations a principle supported by actual use in oldest works and downwards. To be correct, it was not a revival but merely a recognition of classical against the *patois* type

વાસુદેવનાના તર્જી છાડીનિ અનિ બીજા દેવનાના ઉપાસી !

(*Pândavî Gîtd*, date of copy V S 1650 probably)

The repetition in નિ and અનિ is apparently a flagrant tautology. But it serves to indicate forcibly the direction and shape of the thought-process involved therein. This double tautology is perhaps accountable by the fact that the sentence is part of a commentary like explanation of an original Sanskrit text hence the writer says છાડીનિ to explain તર્જી a translation of the original પરિષ્ટય in the text<sup>26</sup> and then passing on to the next idea again takes hold of અનિ, in short the first નિ (in છાડીનિ) has lost its "and" sense and merges into the partial તર્જી sense in છાડી, and hence the new અનિ<sup>27</sup>.

26 વાસુદેવ પરિષ્ટય યોડ્યદેવમુપાસને : તૃપિતો જાહ્નવીતીરે કૃપ ધનતિ દુર્મતિ ॥૧૬॥

27 Dr. Tessitori regards this ને (નિ-નાના) as a locative post position (vide his 'Notes' § 131, p. 86 (middle)). It is difficult, even after reading all his arguments, to fit નાના as a locative post position into the preceding past participle form (as he regards it), કૃપી-being traced by him to પરિષ્ટય (કૃત), and કરીએ the locativa thereof. It is not at all necessary to adopt such a roundabout and defective theory. The instance છાડીનિ અનિ given by me above from *Pândavî Gîtd* will at once dispose of the theory of ને being a locative post-position, as the અનિ here is a clear instance of 'and' being intended to connect the ideas. The easiest explanation is this just as the O. W. Raj જવાન્તિ in એવિ (e. g. ભગેવિ, પેવિ, etc.) can be traced back to the તર્જી termination in Skr., so the alternative form in એવ (ચાલિય, મારિય etc. wherein Dr. Tessitori regards the ય as pleonastic, quite needlessly, I think), can be looked upon as a remnant of the Skr. ય termination for એવા, પ્રાણ્ય, by *scara bhakti*—મણિય, પગનિય, એનિય, the condition that an *upasarga* alone would require ય for એવા being slackened and the same termination (ય) being applied even when there is no *upasarga*, thus giving કીય, ચાલિય, મારિય etc.

[Epic literature displays a free use of the apparent license of applying ય (for એવા) even when the root is not united with an *upasarga*—see Vâlmiki's *Râmâyana*—

(1) મય તા રનીમુખ્ય રિપામિશે મહાદ્વા ।

(*Bdla Adh 1a*, LXVII, 1)

A deeper examination will show that just as in the case of करेते the portion करे has exhausted its original significance, even so in

(2) निरत दृश्य मारीच रामो दृश्यमनवीत ।

(*Ibid*, XXX, 20)

(3) इत्युत्ता परमप्रीतो गृष्ण रामं सदृशमण्मृत

(*Sankshipta Rāmāyaṇa*, edited by C. V. Vaidya, *Bāla Kāṇḍa*, Sarga VII)

(4) वीष्वादं रथं योजय

(*Ibid*, *Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa*, Sarga X)

Dr. Hopkins (*The Great Epic of India*, pp. 261-263) shows that these and other apparent licenses are really cases of borrowings from the current Prākṛita, for as he pithily observes, "metre enpasses Sanskrit grammar but not grammar altogether. ++ Where Sanskrit grammar fails, the poets had recourse to patois" (p. 262). His reason is that such cases occur "only when the metre requires them" (p. 263), and, amongst other instances, cites the case of गृष्ण for गृहीत्वा in स तु वायुसहस्रेण वाहृद् गृष्ण दद्यात्तम् । (vii, 32, 64) (pp. 263 and 205). Thus, the later Prākṛita termination इय (इम) is traceable to the older dialectic form in ये.

I get, to my hitherto unexpected, support from Dr. Bhāskararāya who in his "Lectures" (p. 117) traces the Śaunaceen इम to the Skr. य, I only go a step further and see the operation of *svara bhakti* in this matter ]

The Apabhramsa termination for नी is इत्, as given by Hemachadre (*S. He.* VIII iv 439), इम being confined to Prākṛita proper by him as also by Mirkandeya (*Prākṛita sārasa* IV-37) for *Mishūrāshīṣṭi* )

Some scholars regard this ने (in करेन्ते &c.) not as the conjunctive 'and' but merely as a superfluous participle without any significance. This is inconceivable, if we remember that all the parts in a syntactical utterance symbolize an underlying thought-principle. The ने in Hindi of के where we have ने in such cases may at first sight support these scholars e.g. धूता लगायके नीता लगायके देखे लगायके दूः but the के here really takes the place of some conjunctive word like ने (Guj.), or is representative of करे Hindi which also is in use e.g. लेकर आओ, where the करे is but a reduction of करी (करिम), itself a conjunctive participle from कर=to do, लेकर being=taking+doing (that). This करे was in vogue in O. W. R. (Tessitori "Notes" § 131), but I do not regard it as a mere postposition as Dr. Tessitori does.

करीने the 'and' sense is exhausted in काढी by itself and hence the support of ने. This will be clear if we consider the following: कृगामांपी पाणी काढीने पीड़ु; if ने were not used काढी पीड़ु would show how mutilated काढी is, not being able to indicate the "and" idea; काढी पीड़ु would be halting and lame. Similarly रंधी खायु and रंधीने यायु.

*The idiom of adding ने to the चवान्त form traceable backwards upto the sixteenth century Vikrama era.*

This idiom of adding ने to the चवान्त form can be traced far back upto the beginning of the sixteenth century of the Vikrama era. e. g.

(1) मेहेलीनि in Bhālana's *Kādambarī* (Pūra. bhdga); V. S. 1550 or thereabouts. (See specimen (2) *supra*.)

- (2) नाव्ये चढी अनि चालि- *Scopnāddhyā* V. S. 1582.
- (3) देवनमस्करी नै पुरपतीनां एङ्ग कडीसि-*Sāmudrikā Śāstra*, V. S. 1557.
- (4) एङ्गनह-जोर्दीनह-*Sīdhorāgo*; st. 75, 74; V. S. 1520.
- (5) शीतीनह-*Kāṅkhaçade-probandho*, I-111; V. S. 1512.

To return to ए and its use as a help to replace the exhausted function of the precedent form;—it may be interesting to compare the place of अस्ति in the अस्ति used as अहम् Sanskrit in the peculiar idiomatic use in compared, sentences like the following:—

- (a) अस्ति सिदः प्रतिरसति रम  
*Panchasāntra*, (4);
- (b) अस्त्वत् नगरे त्रयः पुराया देवस्य थियं न सहन्ते ।  
(*Mudrārūlshasa* 1, 5.)
- (c) अस्ति पूर्वमद् व्योमचारी विशापरोऽमपम्  
(*Kathāsaritsāgara*, 22, 56, 1, 27)

This use, however, takes अस्ति as a mere expletive or it means something like the expressions "It is thus," or "there" (as in English—"there was a man in Benares"). A better analogy is to be found in the use of अस्ति in sentences like the following:—

(d) दासे कृतगसि भवत्युचितः प्रभूजां  
पादप्रहार इति घन्दरि नास्मि दूये ।

(quoted by Mallinītha somewhere)

(e) त्वामस्मि वचिम विदुपां समवायोऽत्र तिष्ठति ॥

(*Sāhitya-darpana*)

(f) अन्यत्र पूर्यं दुस्मावचायं

कुरुध्वपत्रास्मि करोमि सद्यः ।

(*Kārya-pralāsa* III-20)

Here, अस्मि दूये, भस्मि वचिम and अस्मि करोमि present a clear antology which is explained away by the idiomatic fiction that अस्मि in such cases simply stands for अहम्. I do not know how this idiom arose in Sanskrit, and it is distinguishable from the idiom which gives the type करेहे in Gujarāti in that the element of exhaustion of expressive power in the termination is absent in the case of the Sanskrit idiom.

When did this use of हे as a virtual termination begin?

Śāstri Vrajalāl Kālidās tells us (*Utsarga-*

*The earliest beginning* mālā, p. 74, edition of 1870 A. D.):—  
from about 1500 V.S. “संवत् १५००ना सैका पठी गूंजर भाषामां कियापदने हेहे प (i.e. अह) धातुनो अपवर्श ‘हे’ मूकवानो चाल छे. ए सैकाओ पूर्व जे ग्रथो लखाया हेतेमां ए अपवर्श मूकेलो नयी. गूंजर भाषानी कवितामां तो अशापिए मूकता नयी. एने उपक्रियापद फहेहे. एना आ प्रमाणे प्रयोग हे याति=जाइ=जायेहे. कोचति=कोचह=कोचेहे.”

Also he tells us (*Gufardū Bhāshā-no Itihāsa* p. 32, edition of A. D. 1866).—

“द्वारां कियापदने हेहे संस्कृत ‘अस्मि’ कियापदने प्राकृत सदायकारक किया-एर ‘हे’ बोलायेहे ते संवत् १५००ना सैकानी पूर्व बोलातुं नहि. घणा प्राचीन गुजराती गण पुस्तकोमां ए सदायकारी कियापदनयी तथा प्राचीन कवितामां पण लाखुं नयी.”

This testimony from a Śāstri devoted to research in the field of Prākṛit and Gujarāti literature is of real value. The only pity is that he uses the expressions—१५००नो सैको, १५००नो सैको in a loose way; and that when he really means the हे in the type करेहे (where only the हे is reduced to the position of a termination) he uses the

wide term, ઉપક્રિયાપદ and સહાયકારક (or કારી) ક્રિયાપદ i.e. auxiliary verb,—terms which would include forms like આવ્યો છે, આવ્યો હતો, આવ્યો હશે &ca, where the position of the auxiliary word is not quite that of a termination.

I pick out some instances from old literature and arrange them below in a backward chronological order:—

- (1) V. S. 1029 *Vaidla paichavisti* (prose) is full of this use of છે; e.g. વસ્તુ છાદ (p. 96), જાંબું (p. 97); કાદ છાદ (p. 101); દેખુંછું (p. 105); વાંદ છાદ, આલુંછું, જાયેછાદ (p. 111); રહ્યાંછાદ, જુણાંછાદ (p. 112); માગાંછાદ (p. 115); જાણાંછાદ (p. 152); સુનિલાંછાદ, ચોલિંછાદ, કદાંછાદ, કારાંછાદ (p. 174); જાયાંછાદ (p. 181).
2. V. S. 1619. *Vaidla Paichavisti* (poem). આંખં (p. 23); માંદેં (p. 26).
- (Note:—In (1) at p. 92 I find જાણ, જાયે, without the છે in the sense of જાયદે.)
3. V. S. 1568 *Vimala-prabandha*.  
જાણાં છાં (VI. 90);  
કરાં છાદ (VI-98).
4. V. S. 1550 Bhilana's *Kaddambari* (*parrva bhāg*).  
28. જૂર્ઝિલિ રે જંન (X, 1.7)  
પરદેશથી જે ભય આવ્યા ફેરવિલિ દાસ (XI, 1.32)  
મિત્ર પામિત્ર તવ કરિલિ (XIV, 1.137);  
કાંદવરી કૂંદ કરિલિ (XXI, 1.196);  
એફનિ દિલિ માન (XXIII, 1.89);  
અહિ સાંસલિલિ ગાન (Do., 1.90);  
એક સથીનિ પ્રેરિલિ (Do., 1.91);  
ઇન્દ્ર જેહનિ આપિલિ કર (VII, 1.70).
- (5) V. S. 1529 *Dasama Skandha* by Keshavadas.  
અતિ પાસ મય જીવ વલેંછે (Sarga XXII, St. 10)

28. I need not repeat that the forms in ણ ending instead of ન્ણ ending do not belong to Bhilana's period, but to the period of the scribe.

(6) About V. S. 1515 *Shatkrasyalalalabodha* by Hema hansa,

(The Ms was copied in V. S. 1616, but the author flourished about V. S. 1515, for he wrote *Nyadya Manjusha* in that year.)

कहूँ छूँ (p. 71 4 in the Ms)

कहूँ छूँ (p. 18 in the Ms)

कीजूँ छूँ (elsewhere in the same Ms, my note omits the page),

(7) V. S. 1512 *Kānha lade prabandha*.

चापीयति (passive), वानिति, करित्तु, वानित्तु, त्रुति.

(*Nagara rarnana*—prose passage in Khanda III)

(Note—This passage, as also the only other prose passage (entitled *Bhatuhi*) appear to me to be interpolations of a later period than the work itself. They come in between the poetical stanzas almost as intruders in the context, the Bhatuhi besides, is distinctly of the nature of an explanatory gloss, which cannot therefore form part of the text and it contains repetitions of the poetical portion.]

(8) V. S. 1507 *Ardha Geird* (or *Virāfnāma*), which belongs to the Parsi literature of the time

कीजूँ अति (passive), in दोहिले निपद कीजूँ अति (See supra passage XVII (b) quoted from the work) <sup>10</sup>

We have before us sufficient material in the typical group of instances noted above. These are on the positive side noting the

29 The Gujarati version of another Sanskrit work by Parsis (*Skanda Gamiṇi Gujdra*) shows the कौ दे type in several places

तेथी घण्य प्रकार छ जुठा याई थाइति ॥ ३८ ॥

तेहेन नोठेणुः । सोऽसुः ॥ ३६ ॥

ते जोवानि किष्य उद्यम करिति ॥ ४३ ॥

(Notes in the work published by the Trustees of the Parsi Panchāyat Funds p. 63 Col 1)

This translation has no date given to it. The change of अ॒ into इ (कौरिति) and similar features would place the translation somewhere in the eighteenth century. Hence I have excluded these extracts from the instances in the text.

actual use of the करेते type. The negative eide is equally suggestive. Before V. S. 1500 we fail to come across this करेते type. Narasinha Mehta (approximately from V. S. 1470 to 1587) does not use this type, as far as my search discloses, but has invariably the करे type (which, no doubt, was written as करह in his own days). I give only a few instances —

(1) रविशशी कोटि नखचंद्रिकामां वसे (Gujarāti Press Edition of Narasinha Mehta's poems, p. 489, pada 19);

(2) जघमां अटपदा भोग भासे ( do. p. 485, pada 42);

(3) ते ज हुं ते ज हुं शब्द बोले

(4) सोनाना पालणा मांहि झूले

(5) अरथ अरपनी महि माहाले

(6) प्रेमना तंतमां संत झाले ( do. pp. 181-5, pada 39);

(7) घंटावन केल करे फाहानो ( do. p. 590, pada 64);

(8) राता अबील उडांडे गोपी ( do. p. 528, pada 89);

(9) भाडगी मोह ऊपजावे रे

(10) नेह नेणामां जणावे रे

(11) गांवर्व गान हरावे रे

(&ca. &ca. (eight verbs) ( do. p. 220, pada 188);

(12) शुखनी मोरली अपण करे

(13) हरिखुख जोवा हरख भरे ( do. p. 219, pada 187);

(14) शमकते शांस्ते ताली दे तालणी (do. p. 218, pada 188);

(15) ताळ मृदंग रसवेणु घाजे

(16) माननी शुख पणो मधर छाजे

(17) जाणे घन दामनी चमके भारी (do. p. 217, pada 181);

(18) नाथ नाचे गिर शुद्ध ते शळकतो

(19) कर तणां कंकण खलके घूडी (do. p. 217, pada 182);

(20) करणे कुमुम रिपरिष घाले

(21) शिरमदि पणां लोसे रे

( do. p. 64, pada 16 )

These are but a few instances out of numerous ones available. They will furnish a sufficient indication.

[Against these instances of the કરે type in Narasinha Mehta I am shown:—

(a) a poem out of an unpublished collection of Narasinha Mehta's poems (date of Ms. unknown) in the possession of Mr. Natavarlal I. Desai of the "Gujarati" Press, which contains the કરેઠે type of form in luxuriance; also in the same collection the same type appearing in about a dozen instances, picked out at random;<sup>30</sup>

and (b) the same type (કરેઠે) in the printed works of Narasinha Mehta (Gujarati Press edition) in a considerable number of instances (about fifty), thus.—

	Page	Pada	Line
દાખેઠે	79	10	6
વારેઠે	82	15	1
પાખાંકેઠે	91	31	215
ધીરસેઠે	91	33	227
બોલેઠે	91	33	228

30 For instance.—

दેવ દેખેઠે p. 30 (મલાર રાગ)  
શુ કહેઠે બનમાલી રે p. 3 (માલવ રાગ)  
તાલી દેઠે હાથેરે p. 3 (,,)

&c.

The whole poem referred to above is as under.—

રાગ રામગ્રીંબું કીર્તિન

ધારા, બાળાજીશુ રહે, મારે ગાયેઠે.  
દુર્ખ મરાણી ને રમણમ ચાંદુ, મારે પાખોલીયે નેવુરિયાં વાજેઠે. મારા १  
સેંધો ફુલી નાકે નવેસર, નિલબટ ટીલડી વિરાજેઠે;  
હાથે ચુડી ને દીશુંદું રડી, ગોકળે શુઘરડી વાજેઠે. મારા २  
અં યૌનમાં હરિવર રડો, અબર દીઠે દિલ દાસેઠે;  
નારસીયાચા રવામી સંગ્ય રમતાં, જે થોલું વે છાજેઠે. મારા ३  
૭

દેઢે	92	33	229
નાલેઢે	92	33	233
નિરખેઢે	93	34	255
&c		&c	&c

This apparently huge phalanx of an opposing army need not alarm us. Let us look at the facts in the face. The type comes into sight certainly sometime after 1500 V. S., in 1450 V. S., i. e. twenty years before Narasinha Mehta's birth, the ફરે type reigned supreme and alone (*Vide Mugdhdabodha Auktika*). Then again the ફરે type in Narasinha Mehta is not limited to the few instances cited by me, it flourishes in equal, if not greater, luxuriance, with the opposing instances shown us, and the ફરેઢે type established itself long after 1500 V. S. Add to this the recognised facts —

- (1) that we possess no MSS. of Narasinha Mehta's works older than two or three centuries from now
- (2) that the extreme popularity of Narasinha Mehta's works, the handing down of them by oral tradition supplemented by the writing of them according as the taste and fancy and the limitations of learning of the writers inclined them the liberties taken by scribes, age after age with the text their ignorance, &c., —all these factors have combined to present the poems in a form far from faithful to the original composition of the poet's time;

and (2) That even spurious pieces have often been passed off by their composers as those of Narasinha, Mira, Kabir and such other well known old poets

In these circumstances I would look upon these instances with grave doubts as to their genuineness. There is really nothing to prevent the possibility of the text containing ર, or તે, or એ, for તે in many of these instances, or એ for એ in cases like દીદુદુ. In the piece cited above, or ઇચ્છુકુ in the line ઇયામના ચરણમાં ઇચ્છુકુ મરણ એ in the celebrated and sublime poem beginning નિરસ ને ગગનમાં

काँग पूमी रसो etc.. In fact दृच्छु है (or दीर्घ है) to my ear sounds more like Narasinha Mehta than does दृच्छु or दीर्घ.

The only other theory which could synthetize the opposing arguments that can be suggested is that Narasinha Mehta's was a period of transition from the करे type to the करेते type, and hence the appearance of both the types in his poems. I am however not inclined to accept this theory as consonant with probabilities.]

Going about a quarter of a century before the birth of Narasinha Mehta we find in V. S. 1450 the *Mugdhārabodhā Autīla* telling the same tale, a significant negative. I pick out only a few out of many instances of the करे type.

- ( 1 ) वीतराग वांछिर दीइ । ( वीतरागो वांछितं दराति )
- ( 1 ) चेतु कहु करइ । ( चेतः कहे करोति )
- ( 3 ) चेतु लोहसिं वात करइ । ( चेतः लोकेन सर्वे सद समं साकं वा वार्ता करोति )
- ( 4 ) विरेकित मोश्वरइ करणि खयइ । ( विवेकी मोश्वाय यतते )
- ( 5 ) एवतइ पान पड़इ । ( एवात् पर्णं पतति )
- ( 6 ) गुरुतणडं वचन इडं सांमलडं । ( गुरुगां वचनं अंगं गृगोमि )
- ( 7 ) चेत्र ग्रानि घसइ । ( चेत्रो ग्रामे घसति )
- ( 8 ) शिव्य शाव पटी अर्य पूछइ । ( शिव्यः शावं पवित्रा अर्यं पूच्छति )
- ( 9 ) करसणी इल खेदतड बोज घावइ । ( कर्पकः इलं खेद्यन् कृपन् वा चीजं वपति )
- ( 10 ) स्वर्यार्द्र कीजतडं प्रसाद लोक देखइ । ( स्वर्यारेण कियमार्णं प्रासादं लोकः पश्यति )

Thus, while from after 1500 V. S. downwards there is a gradual beginning and growth of the करेते type, we find no such type during the period before 1500 V. S.. Expressions like भणियड अड़ि found in *Aloyap* (V. S. 1330) need not be taken as refuting this view, for भणियड अड़ि represents भणितः अदित (भण्डे ते), not भणेते which (present tense indicative) is the type we are concerned with. We can thus safely conclude that the use of ते as a termination (करेते type) started after 1500 V. S. (or about 1500 V. S.), but was rare at first; and that its established use came at a much later period, when करे entirely lost its power to

express the pure present tense. The view I expressed in my presidential address at the *Gujarātī Sāhitya Parishad* (May 1915) is thus born out by the examination of the materials made above. I said there —

"This type appears to have found its way very long after V S 1400. Bhalana (a poet who flourished after V S 1495 i.e. 1500) uses in his Kadamhari the form દીસિસિ, words composed during the period about V S 1500 such as the *Kankhadade-prabandha* do not appear to use દીસિ as an ઉપક્રિયાવદ. It is after V S 1700 that such use is very frequent. This point can be settled after a patient inquiry. But this much is certain that this form came into vogue after 1500 V S."

(Report of the Fifth *Gujarātī Sāhitya Parishad*  
pp 25 26 of the Presidential Address)

What was tentatively advanced then received, I believe a sure confirmation by the patient inquiry then suggested and now carried out. The inquiry is a little difficult because as a rule this type finds place generally in prose writings and comparatively very rarely in poetry and Gujarati literature upto the last hundred years abounds in poetry whereas prose works are few and far between. I have already remarked besides, that even at present Gujarati poetry adheres to the એક type and almost studiously eschews the ફરેઝ type.<sup>31</sup>

(2)-(e) *The retention of the એરયુસ-અદ્દ-અર uncoalesced*

This feature has lasted late upto the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries of the Vikrama era whereafter these એદ્-અર retained contactual vowels merged together and assumed

the forms એ-ઓ respectively. This I am at once dealing with in the next clause (2) *Later Period-(a)*, and hence I dismiss this question with this brief remark as also the remark that this item (e) and item (2)-(a) need not be taken together so as to come into mutual conflict. In short (2)-(e) slides into (2)-(a) and so far the terms in addition to the above, mentioned with reference to the features of the later period (at p 53 above) do not apply to this particular feature.

31 See *supra* p 38, remark on (b)

## Later Period

(2)-(a) *The change of અદ્-અત to એ-ઓ.*

As I have already pointed out, this change passed through gradual stages of અદ્-અત ઇ-અ, and finally અદ્-અત changed to એ- �established itself into એ-ઓ, during this transition we find એદ and ઇ (and અટ-અ) occasionally running together as is not unnatural in phonetic evolution. In fixing the approximate period for the final evolution, we are concerned with એ-ઓ when fully established. This period may be fixed somewhere between 1700 and 1750 V S.

A glance at the specimens given by me till now will show that the MSS. dating before 1700 V S. do not show this એ-ઓ evolution. The few exceptions in Bhilani's Addambari have been accounted for by me (See *supra* pp 31-32). The specimens given by Sistri Vrajalal Kalidas in his 'Gujarati Bhashano Itihasa' (at pp 63 to 67) show that before 1700 V S. અદ્-અત or ઇ-અ figure as prevalent forms. A Ms. of Bhima Kavi's *Hari Lila* (composed in V S. 1541) copied in V S. 1702 shows (according to the specimen given by Sistri Vrajalal) એ-ઓ, and the specimens he gives from MSS. copied after V S. 1750 mark the full sway of એ-ઓ. Thus we are safe in fixing the period of the final establishment of એ-ઓ between 1700 and 1750 V S.

(2)-(b) *The change of non-final ઇ-અ to અ.*

The instances of these have been given by me in Lecture IV,

Section I Utsarge III, (pp 222 ff. of Volume

(b) *No: final ઇ e g કઠિન (Skr)-કઠણ (G), મારુપ (Skr)-માળસ (G)*. I have also pointed out the ancient tendency of this principle far back into the Sanskrit period (p 231 of Vol I) but contended for reasons stated, that in spite of that ancient origin of the principle in an embryonic stage, its real evolution belongs to Gujarati proper. This feature also begins about V S. 1750, as indicated in my presidential address at the fifth Gujarati Sahitya Parishad (p 27).

(c) *Change of એ to એ*.

(a)—(c) *The change of એ to એ when in contact with ઇ, એ or ઉ.*

This change shows its beginnings in about V. S. 1357 (*Bhuvana d pala e g ફિલી*) but along with such forms we have also ઓસી. The period for a firm establishment of this change must be after 1750 V. S.

(2)—(d) *Inter-vocalic એ changed to એ.*

The use of એ (even intervocalic) is visible till very recent times in writing although એ was spoken, this

(d) *Change of એ to એ* is found in writings fifty years old or there abouts. It is difficult to say when the એ sound came into vogue in spoken language for the MSS. adopt એ all along. Hemachandra recognizes એ in the limited sphere of the Panîachi language (એણ ॥ ૧: હે VIII-iv-307). But that will not settle our point. For at that rate Vedic Sanskrit had એ also, for એ, not for એ, be it remembered (See *supra* Vol. I, pp. 365 ff.)

As against the Apabhramsa stage as well as the Earlier Period of the post Apabhramsa stage this change of એ to એ is decidedly a late development these two stages having no cerebral એ in them. It is only during the Later Period of the post Apabhramsa stage that the exact or approximate advent of the cerebral એ is difficult to fix the reason as already hinted being the fact that the dental એ symbol was used to represent the cerebral એ for a number of years till some five or six decades ago. Any how this cerebral development is a distinctive feature of the Later Period marking it off from all the preceding stages.

Whether this cerebralization of the dental એ marks Gujarati off from Marathi is another question. Dr. Tessitori<sup>32</sup> tells us that 'this process had probably begun since the earliest Old Western Rajasthan stage but in no MS. of the latter language the l sound is disengaged from l'. This led me to believe what I had regarded as true from occasional impressions received from

32. Vide his 'Notes p. 5, characteristic number 6 of Gujarati' Ind. Ant. Vol. XLII, February 1914 p. 25.

hearing some Maravadi speakers viz that Maravadi does not possess the cerebral  $\overline{\text{v}}$  and so I stated in my presidential address at the *Fifth Gujarati Sthitya Parishad* (p 28) This impression of mine was declared to be wrong by Dr Tessitori in a private letter to me written in the middle of July 1915 He stated therein that this cerebral sound ( $\overline{\text{v}}$ ) was heard in Maravadi and that there was no doubt about it In a later article<sup>33</sup> by him Dr. Tessitori gives an extract from the 'Song of Jasranta Sonigro' where the cerebral  $\overline{\text{v}}$  is indicated by a diacritical dot below  $\text{v}$ , thus - વા, વાં (St 2), સાંબાં, મિલિઅં (St 1), ગાં, કમાં (St 7), ગાં, માં (St 8), કમાં (St 9) Whether this dot mark is found in the Ms or introduced by Dr Tessitori is not clear (he admits having made alterations to make the language correspond exactly with the time of composition, however this symbol would not necessarily fall within the scope of the object of such alterations) Any how in other places in the article we find simple  $\overline{\text{v}}$  without the dot mark<sup>34</sup>

The extract from a Diogala text given by Dr Tessitori at p 396 of the J A S Beng, Nov 1914 quoted by me *supra* Vol I p 366 n 129 shews this cerebral  $\overline{\text{v}}$  marked with a dot invariably. Of course the same remark is applicable in this case, as in the case of the extract from the *Song of Jasranta Sonigro*

Sir George Grierson tells us<sup>35</sup> that in Maravadi the cerebral l is very common and that l is often indicated thus  $\overline{\text{v}}$  instead of by  $\overline{\text{v}}$  The specimens given by him disclose a bewildering mixture of  $\overline{\text{v}}$  and  $\overline{\text{v}}$  in the various dialects of Maravadi<sup>36</sup>

The upshot of the survey is that the cerebral  $\overline{\text{v}}$  existed as a sound long before it was symbolized (as  $\overline{\text{v}}$  in Gujarati or as  $\overline{\text{v}}$  or

33 'Bards and Historical Survey of Hajipulana' J A S Beng, N S XII 1916 A D pp 82 84

34 *Ibid*, p 95 શીર્ષક (1 8 of the inscription) વાં (1 9) This is an inscription dated V S 1686

35 "Linguistic Survey of India Vol IX Part II p 20

36 E g see *Ibid* pp 63 64 72, 74, 76, 79, 82 86 88, 91, &c. Therein Maravadi proper shows the dental  $\overline{\text{v}}$  the rest have the cerebral predominantly over rare instances of the dental

as in Māravādi), that it is difficult to state with any approximation to certainty as to when this sound came into the language but that Dr. Tessitori's statement that this process of cerebralizing had begun since the earliest O. W. Raj stage is not supported by any evidence or inference.

(2)—(e) *The substitution of આય for ઇયાં in the formation of the passive voice.*

So far as I can ascertain this use of આય for ઇયાં in the formation of the passive voice is not found in (e) આય for ઇયાં in passive forms frequent use before the eighteenth century of the Vikrama era. The forms in આય (આં) cited by Dr. Tessitori in § 140 of his 'Notes', no doubt are found in MSS. of the period 1500 to 1550 A. D. (=1556 to 1606 V. S.). But these are restricted to the potential sense along with the passive, while Modern Gujarāti uses the form in the pure passive sense also, without the idea of potentiality. Thus, in (M. Guj.) રાધારો એક રવિયો ખોગાયો the word ખોગાયો cannot possibly have the potential sense (શક્યાર્�). Any how the disappearance of ઇયાં and the firm establishment of આય appears to belong to the later centuries, about the eighteenth century of the Vikrama era.

The genesis of this આય will be examined further on in connection with a different subject. I may only indicate here that the ય in this passive આય is I believe, a remnant of યા (=to go, Skr.), just as the ય in the Skr. passive suffix યા is traceable to યા to go that H. કિયા જાતા હૈ, M. કેલે જાતે, G. કર્યું જાય નહિ (=કરાય નહિ), analytical in their formation throw a suggestive light on the synthetical formations, કિયતે (Skr.), કરિયાં (Ap.), and કરાય (G.), indicating the origin of the passive element ય from યા=to go and that the આ before the ય in કરાય &c. is of the nature of an *agama* (I am not inclined to go with Dr. Tessitori in the view that this potential આય is traceable to the causal formation which would account for the આ).

In North Gujarat an adventitious કુ is prefixed to the passive આય when applied to Gujarāti roots ending in આ, હુ, એ or ઓ, thus—

	Passive
જીવા ( to eat ) .	ખ્વરાયછે;
જીન્હા ( to bathe )	ન્હરાયછે;
જીગા ( to go )	જગ્રાયછે;
જીરી ( to drink )	પીવ્રાયછે;
જીલે ( to take )	લેવ્રાયછે;
જીજો ( to see )	જોવ્રાયછે;
જીલો ( to lose )	ખોવ્રાયછે;
" લોક આપા પાડા ખામો, મ્હારી શોય ખોવરાણી "	
(A village song)	

[જગ્રાય છે, passive of આર્ (to come) may seem to be the result of mistaking આ as the root; but considering the derivation of આર્ from આ+યા (Skr.) through the past participle form with ર thrown in as an *āgama*<sup>38</sup> it is possible to take આ as the residual root (meaning *to come*), the original function of આ as an *upasarga* being lost far behind in the course of evolution.<sup>39</sup> This gets some support from the H. ભાતાદે where the present participial termination તા leaves આ as the root; though આર્ is also found; e.g.

મોહે અતંગલ કરુ નહિં ભાવત હૈ,  
મોરો વાચા નસ્તર નહિં આવત હૈ.]

This ર in the passive formation in North Gujarat has a trace of Māravāḍī influence, those parts being on the border of Māravāḍī-speaking tracts; Māravāḍī inserts an *r* before *ij*, the passive forming suffix.<sup>40</sup>

38. For this derivation see Vol. I of this work, pp. 245, 246.

39. This lends further support to my derivation of આર્ from આ+યા, its past participle, with ર interpolated as an *āgama*. ...

40. See Sir George Grierson's paper on "Irregular Causal Verbs in the Indo-Aryan Vernaculars" (read March 1896) J. A. S. Beng, LXV Part I, 1896 A. D., p. 2. He says there:-

"I must add another parallel form which has not, been noticed by writers in this connection. In the Mārwāḍī dialect of Rājputāñī certain verbs insert an *r* before *ij*, the suffix which forms the passive. Thus the passive of *lejō* (to take) is *le-r-ijō*, and of *dejō* 'to give' *de-r-ijō*."

(B) *Psychological changes in grammatical forms.*

This covers cases where the syntactical concord in an earlier idiom is warped in a later idiom; or where the idea conveyed by a particular grammatical form in *post-Apabhramśa* and early Gujarātī stages is altered materially in the Gujarātī evolutes of those very forms.

I give some important instances —

(a) The concord in the passive voice of verbs in the past tense as known to the Sanskrit idiom was adopted upto the times of Bhālāna and little later, and even Premānand occasionally accepts it, in Modern Gujarātī this is curiously altered and the object of the verb is put in the dative like form with the termination *ને*. Take instances —

(1) રાલસ વિદ્વાએ રુક્મણીએ ક્ષમ પાંસી

(*Dasama Skandha* by Bhālāna; pada 280, stanza 2. Ms. belonging to the Gujarāt Vernacular Society). (About V. S. 1500)

(2) દીકું નહીં તેણિ ધ્યાયિ હું

(*Bhālāna's Kādambarī*, *Pūratabhādga*, p. 22, I. 22, K. H. Dhruva's edition). (About V. S. 1550.)

(3) મહારા પુત્ર ને કામની લોખી ધ્યાં અતિ દુષ્ટ ।

તેણે હુને કાદિયો લોખી ધ્યાં પાંચિઠ ।

અનતણે લોમે હું તર્જ્યો નિસર્યો વનમાં એવલો ।

(*Bhālāna's Saptaśatī*, *Kadarū* 2, st. 12-13) (About 1500 V. S.).

(4) તેણે તો હું કાઢ્યો સત્ય *Ibid* *Kadarū* 3, st. 4.)

(5) હું અનગદદરીએ તુદનદ તેઢવા મોકલો હું

(*Vaitala panchavisi* prose, p. 174, (V. S. 1620).

(6) વહે હુપડી હું ભલે ટાલી ચુમદાએ ભગવત

(*Premānanda's Abhimanyu akhyāna* XVIII, 8)

(V. S. 1727).

(7) તન્ની મે તું કેદે તેઢો દૃપા સેદ ડાવા

(*Nala-Damayanti-Rāsa* by Nayasundara, V. S. 1665).

For this correct concord, modern Gujarātī will have —

- (1) કૃષ્ણજી રૂક્મણીને કેમ પાસ્યા
- (2) તે બ્યાખે રહુને દીઠો નહિં
- (3) (મારા શુદ્ધ ને કામિનીએ) રહુને તર્યો
- (4) રહેણે રહુને કાઢ્યો
- (5) રહુને તેડા મોકલી છે
- (6) રહુને ખણ ટાઢી
- (7) મેં રહુને તેડી.

(Note:—In *instance (3)* રૂને કામિનીએ is like the modern Gujarāti idiom, side by side with the earlier idiom).

This is the only feature under warping of concord worth noticing. Incidentally I may notice the idiom in Modern Gujarāti હું એસ પાસ્યો where પાસ્યો is not passive as in Skr. પ્રાપ, but active; it seems the passive sense of પ્રાપ is converted into active in Gujarāti without such a change as Skr. would resort to as applying કરતું termination and saying પ્રાપદાન्.

We now come to purely psychological shifting of sense by way of tense, mood, voice and the like. These are:—

(b) The change of sense of the passive, future tense, third person singular form to the active, future, first person singular, (as also the second person singular):

Examples:—

કથપિદ્યતે (Skr.), કહિસ્તદુ (Pr. and Apr.), કહિદાદ-કહિદિ (post-*Apabh.*), કહીન. (Gujarāti) meaning "I shall tell" or "thou shalt tell." Note that upto the Pr. and *Apabhramsha* stages the idea conveyed is "it will be told" (passive, third person singular); then in the *post-Apabhramsha* stage the sense is in a state of transition, looking on both sides of its position, anterior and posterior, thus eventually shading off into the Modern Gujarāti sense-active voice first or second person singular. This thought-change is partly due to a misapprehension and partly to a natural shifting of thought, "It shall be told" by a conceivable thought-shifting coming to signify "I shall tell" (or "thou shalt tell"). I have already drawn attention to this thought-shifting in the

remarks on the extract from *Bhūtānādipala* (see *suprà* p. 48 XI). The sense there lingers in the transitional stage, the form being capable of either sense (passive or active).

The Nāgars of Bensres (and also of Surat in a lingering way now, as also those of Karnāli on the Narmadā) use the form કદ્દીશે in the sense—"we shall tell." This form is also an evolnt of કહિસાહુ-કહિશાહુ. The fact is that while કહિશાહુ gives કદ્દીરો, કહિશિ gives કદ્દીશ.

It may be asked—why can not we derive કદ્દીશ (first person singular) from કહિસાહુ? The answer is seen in the tracing given just above, which accounts for કદ્દીશે as well as કદ્દીશ both, and thus secures બીજાલાયત. Of course there are various thought changes involved every where. In કદ્દીશે the final nasalization marks the plural number.

(c) The change of the passive in જાહ (જાહ) -3rd person singular, into active imperative 2nd person singular. Thus કરિજાહ, ફરીસે (old Gujarātī) retaining the passive sense partially, as it means "should do" (we should do, or you should do), but changing the person and mood;—then finally કરજો (Modern Gujarātī) = તું કરસે "thou shalt do."

(d) Similarly the change of the passive in જાડ (જાડનાડ) -imperative third person singular to active second person plural future imperative. Thus કરિજાડ (Skr. (ક্রিযতাম), કરજો (Modern Gujarātī) = "You shall do."

Dr. Tessitori ("Notes" § 120, last para) quotes Dr. Hoernle's view that the so-called respectful imperative is but "a regularly conjugated passive verb, which has assumed an active sense" ("Gaudian Grammar, § 499); but only to differ from him. I cannot dwell at length on Dr. Tessitori's reasons for rejecting Dr. Hoernle's opinion, but would content myself by stating that they are all capable of refutation. Dr. Hoernle's view is, to my mind, quite sound.

(e) The change of the passive form in એક (third person singular, present tense), to the first person plural number present tense (indefinite or subjunctive) active voice.

Thus :—**किष्टे** (Skr.), **करिष्ट** (Apabhramsha and Post-Apabhramsha), **કરિયે** (Modern Gujarati), meaning " We may do ".

For the psychological analysis of this change and the reason for it see *Gujarati Languages and Literature* Vol. 1, pp. 97-98.

(f) The same change yielding the form **કરિયે**, but possessing a respectful imperative sense ; e. g.:

1 જુભો આપણે હારું કામ ના કરિયે (=we should not do).

2 મય અતે તો આ રપાદ કરિયે (= " we should do " ). The thought-steps are similar as in the last case (e).

(g) Lastly, we may revert to the change of the present tense, third person, singular, active voice, indicative mood, to the subjunctive sense. **કરોતિ**, **કરણું**, **કરે** (Modern Gujarati)=(he may do, (if he) do.

I have analysed this change and traced it to an exhaustion of the power of the form ending in **તિ**, resulting, on the one hand, in propping up the indicative sense by the help of **શ**, and, on the other, by reducing the sense of the pure **તિ** ending to the subjunctive mood.

It may be noted that all these changes did not drop ready-made from the skies at one single moment ; each had its own time and course. But it may be safely asserted that the period for these changes covers the centuries from V. S. 1500 to V. S. 1750, approximately, thus some of them marking modern Gujarati, while others marked earlier stages.

(O) *The Analytic or synthetic nature of the forms marking the several periods.*

In order to correctly appreciate this aspect of the Gujarati language, we must be clear as to the exact meaning and application of the two terms *analytic* and *synthetic*, as applied to language.

A lot of misapprehension and confusion has arisen in this matter, and the reason is very well traced by the writer on "Philology" in the "*Encyclopædia Britannica*".<sup>41</sup> He divides

<sup>41</sup> *Encyclopædia Brit.* (eleventh edition), Vol. XXI, 423, a.

languages into two main divisions (1) Isolating Languages and (2) Agglutinative Languages and subdivides the latter into (a) Simply Agglutinative and (b) Inflective. The subdivision (a) will cover the two classes named *Agglutinative* and *Analytical* by Beames, and (b) is but another name for *Synthetic*. Truly inflective languages are those which admit internal changes in their words to indicate change of grammatical forms, such are the Semitic languages e.g. Arabic which for instance, changes the word *nár* (=light) into *nádr* for its plural *Khabar* singular into *alhár* plural, and so forth. The writer in the *Encyclopædia* objects to accepting the term "inflective" in such a restrictive sense. He says —<sup>42</sup>

'There is no term in linguistic science so uncertain of meaning so arbitrary of application, so dependent on the idiosyncrasy of its user, as the term "inflective" (i.e. synthetic)'

The same remark would apply to the class *analytic*. The writer adds —<sup>43</sup>

"Any language ought to have the right to be called "inflective" that has inflexion that is that not merely distinguishes parts of speech and roots and stems formally from one another but also conjugates its verbs and declines its nouns, and the name is sometimes so used."

Let us turn to Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar. He tells us —<sup>43</sup>

'When a language is in that condition in which grammatical relation is expressed by such compounds consciously formed, and both parts of the compound can be used independently it is said to be the *analytical stage*'

એચ, locative of એ (alternatively with એની) is a peculiar formation from એ+એ. It is not to be confounded with any truly inflectional feature as in the Semitic forms noted above.

Rural Gujarātī, Kāthiāvādī Gujarātī, and Parsi Gujarātī have એ instead of એચ.

42 Encyclo Brit (Eleventh Edition), Vol XXI, 423, b.

43 Wilson Philological Lectures, p. 8.

Then, proceeding to illustrate phonetic decay by the change of मृत् to मि or नि, or of कार् to आर्, and the like Dr. Bhāndārkar points out that:—

"the words forming the compound grow together, both being altered in the process and the original sense of the latter is forgotten. It is this circumstance that renders phonetic change possible, for if those who speak the language always used the two words in the compound with a conscious desire to express their joint sense, such a corruption would not take place. Phonetic decay reduces the latter portion to a mere termination and thus a language arrives at what is called the synthetic stage. All the dead Aryan languages and most of the living ones also, are in the synthetic condition."

Dr. Bhāndārkar further observes:—<sup>44</sup>

"The grammatical terminations which are often used than any particular words suffer the most in this process of decay and after a time they are confused with each other or dropped away. When a language is reduced to this condition, it has to fall back upon the expedient with which it started, and tack on certain words or particles to its nouns and verbs to express the relations which the old terminations denoted, and thus the analytic state returns. But the old process goes on again, and these words in their turn assume the character of terminations. x x x x The modern vernaculars have had to resort to this process of reconstruction in a great measure."<sup>45</sup>

Now we approach Beames for a definition of the terms synthetic and analytic. After describing syntactical and agglutinative

44. *His Wilson Indian Law Lectures*, p. 11.

45. कार् from कर्ति gradually losing its original sense and taking on आर् (०) to express it, is an instance of the synthetic stage passing into the analytic stage. The opposite instance is furnished by मृत् coming in to express the locative sense and finally becoming a mere termination in the shape of नि. Other instances will be discussed further on in the text.

nated stages (exemplified respectively by Chinese and Turkish languages) he comes to the third and fourth stages, viz — *synthetical* or *inflectional* stage and the *analytical* stage, the former being seen in Sanskrit and the latter in Modern English and French.

The *synthetical* stage according to Beames, is that in which particles added to nouns to form case-endings, are no longer separable but have become incorporated into the word which they modify merely producing the result of varying the terminal syllable or syllables and the *analytical* stage is that in which the particles are not even recognizable as constituent elements of the word with which they were incorporated but, from long use, have been worn away, so that the word stands almost bare and without terminations as in the first stage and new auxiliary words have to be brought in to express the necessary modifications of sense.

As Beames rightly points out "no language is purely analytical. The most advanced languages such as English, still retain traces of the synthetical phase through which they have formerly passed". And he cites as instances of the synthetic phase the forms—*thou geat* he goes or *goeth* went, *gone*. Similarly, *Man's* (from *man his'* as in "Bill stamps his mark") *higher, loved, are* synthetic forms while '*of man*', "*more high*" "*did love*" '*will be loved*' are analytic forms, both the sets existing simultaneously in the present day English.

Thus for our use the true and essential tests of a synthetic form are —

- (a) that the termination is derived by the wearing out of an original word which has lost its independent nature and
- (b) the capacity of such termination to alter the final vowels &c. of the nouns to which they are attached

Applying these tests to Gujarati case-forms we find an interesting state of things. Take the forms —

1. मगनने मार्ये	(Objective case);	
2. हाथे वण्डे लुगां	(Instrumental case);	
3. गोविन्दने आप्य	(Dative case);	
4. गामयी आव्यो	(Ablative case);	
5. घोडाना पग	(Genitive case);	
6. (a)घरमां ताप लागेले	}	(Locative case);
(b) पाटले वेगे		

In the above instances numbers 2 and 6(b) show a marked fusion of the termination (ए) with the nouns (हाथ and पाटले) by means of *sandhi*. This fact, and the entirely dependent and worn out nature of the termination, will induce every one to admit these to be synthetic forms. But when Beames speaks of incorporation of the termination we need not take it to mean complete fusion. For in such sentences as घोडाए लात मारी, घणीए कर्णु, भालानी अणीए पाळी मूकीने पेरवी, the instrumental or agentive ए in the first two instances, and the locative ए in the third, remain fairly separate from the base-word. What is meant by incorporation is simply this: that the termination is more or less inseparably united with the base. We find this to be the state of things with all the case-terminations: ने, ए, ने, घी, तु, मां-ए. An inquiry into the derivation of these terminations (which we shall enter upon later on) shows that they are remnants of complete words worn out in transit. Here I may briefly state that ए, instrumental, is a worn out form of the Skr. ending एन, the locative ए is similarly traceable to the Skr. loc. termination इ (these Skr. endings themselves being synthetic); ने, acc. and dative, are derived from the genitive termination ँ and this latter is a worn out remnant of तण<sup>46</sup> (Ap.) from Skr. तन; while घी is traceable back to घेय (through घज्य, घज, घह, घही); and तु is traceable to तित (Skr.)—(and तुकी to a possible past participle of स्पृह).

46 A look at the remarks on तण at p. 25 *supra* shows the gradual history of the word from an independent adjective to a termination. The further wearing out of तण into तु (through घण-घन) emphasizes the synthetic nature of the form. It is noteworthy that तुङ्ग, unworn out, is still in use as a genitive termination, but only in poetry.

Thus all these terminations satisfy condition (a) for the synthetic stage. They also satisfy condition (b), in so much as ને, એ, પી and માં as also એ have the capacity to alter the final vowel of the base-word, thus ઘોડો-ઘોડાને, ઘોડાએ (also ઘોડે), ઘોડાપી, ઘોડારુ, ઘોડામા, ઘોડાએ (as also ઘોડે).

Thus we can safely assert that the Gujarati case-terminations are synthetic. Sir George Grierson<sup>47</sup> allows the Gujarati dative and genitive case endings a place in the synthetic system but regards the others as analytic. Further, he regards the Hindi genitive ending કा as analytic. This view is due to a one-sided look at the conditions determining the synthetic or analytic nature of a form. Sir George's reason about કा is that while તણ elides its ત in forming the Gujarati કા ending, કा (which is deriveable from કૃતક through કિશમ) retains the initial ત, and thus shows that it begins a separate word, the elision of consonants in the Prakrits being confined to initial ones. Now the fallacy lies in ignoring the condition (b) stated above viz. the capacity<sup>48</sup> to alter the final vowel of the base-word (for ઘોડા nom, ઘોડેકા gen. will show this function of કા), and also assuming that the ending must wear out its initial consonant to qualify itself for the post of a synthetic termination, this by no means is correct, the only condition is that the help-word should be so worn out in any of its parts as to destroy its independent position, this is the case in કા (કૃતક, કિશમ, કા being such a wearing out).

In the case of પી (ablative) and માં (loc.) the arguments apply, both are worn out forms of earlier independent words (સ્વિપત and મેશ), and both have the capacity of altering the final vowel of the base-word ઘોડો (nom), ઘોડાપી (ablative), ઘોડામા (loc.). I<sup>49</sup> fail to

47 LSI, Vol IX, p. 328

48 I emphasize this capacity, because a termination may in some cases alter the final vowel of the base word, and in some cases it may not. Thus, for instance, ઘોડાનુ, but રાખનુ, દેવનામ् but નરીનામ् and રમણ્ય, in Sir, yet ભાન् (નામ्) is none the less a synthetic termination.

49 It is a matter for consideration how far this factor of altering the final vowel of the base-word can be regarded as touching anything

see how Sir George's view that these are analytical terminations can be regarded as tenable

Beames in one place holds that in Gujarati 'the noun retains one inflectional case the instrumental only the noun ending in *o* undergoes any change of termination previous to the application of the post-positions'.<sup>50</sup> This would show that he inclines towards regarding the Gujarati case-endings (except the instrumental) as analytical (He seems to have ignored the locative case ending *એ* which is alternative with *માં*). The root of the error in this view lies in the fact that Beames picks up રાજા as his test word a word whose આ ending is taken bodily from the Slr. nominative singular of રાજન्, while he neglects the type ધોડા (Hindi) ધોડો (Guj.), although the રાજા type would cover a minority and the ધોડા type a majority of the words in the language as also વિરારી adjectives in ઓ and એ will preponderate in the language. An exceptional type like રાજા cannot be regarded as a decisive test it would not be correct to infer the analytical nature from such an isolated type involving no change in the final vowel of the base-word. On the contrary the very fact of the change of ઓ to આ (Guj.) or ઓ to એ (Hindi ધોડા-ધોડો) and that too covering an extensive range of words should be taken as the determining element.

Further, Beames minimizes the value of this vowel-change in order to maintain his assumption that the case endings are analytical. Thus he says—

"The only trace of an inflectional or synthetical system is to be found in certain changes effected in the last syllable of some nouns to prepare them for taking the detached particles which express the relations of case".<sup>51</sup>

deeper than the surface of things. For, if we go deeper, the change of ઓ to આ is not real the ઓ is the nominative formation by the elision of the ક of અક, and the change of એ into અ, and the so called આ change is but the result of the એ changing into અ in the base-word itself. See *Gujarati Language and Literature* Vol I, p 216, last para

50. *Comparative Grammar*, Vol I, p 50.

51 *Ibid*, Vol II, p 183

The word "only" minimizes the value of what, really and after all, is a specific symptom of the synthetic process, while the term "detached particles" is an incorrect representation of the really dependent nature of the esse-endings, and, further more, Beames entirely ignores the condition abhnt the wearing out of the endings, which is another determining condition.

And yet we find Beames occasionally leaning towards the view which allows the synthetic nature to our case-endings. Thus —

"The forms of the oblique cases are not however, the only traces which still survive of the old Sanskrit inflections" <sup>52</sup>

This statement is a general one and applicable to all the seven languages examined by him. But we come to a more definite statement with regard to the western vernaculars —

"In striking contrast to the wide range of synthetical forms observable in Marathi and the western languages, stands not the naked simplicity of the Bengali and Oriya which have scarcely any variations of the stem" <sup>53</sup>

We thus see that Beames oscillates between the analytic and synthetic theories as regards Gujarati and Marathi. So far as the case-endings are concerned we are, as already stated, safe in regarding the Gujarati case-endings as synthetic. Correctly viewed language presents variegated patterns woven by a mysterious power. Language passes from the analytic to the synthetic and back to the analytic phase and back again to the synthetic stage, as significantly pointed out by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar in the passage quoted above <sup>54</sup>. Thus an invisible shuttle moves forward and backward and forward again, and the weft and warp of language are wrought out into various patterns. Thus I have pointed out above that the Prakrit ablatives spent themselves and Gujarati, at some early stage resorted to the analytic help of स्पृत (and स्पृष्ट), imitating in this case the similar dodge of Apabhramsa which

52 Comparative Grammar, Vol. II, p. 228, § 48.

53 Ibid, p. 227, § 49.

54. See *supra* p. 79

adopted<sup>55</sup> દોન્તા (the Ap pres part of Skr મુ) in the ablative of pronouns to indicate the ablative relation and these સ્પિત, સ્પિતિ again passed into the form of synthetic terminations થી and થીં. The locative termination એ (इ Skr) failed to serve<sup>56</sup> all the purposes of the idea of location in modern Gujarati consequently the synthetic એ gave place at some stage to the analytic મણ which again dwindled down to the synthetic shape of મા. The genitive સ્પ (Skr), સ્પ (Pr) એ (Post-Ap) in course of time spent themselves and તણ sprang into use at first analytically એ નાં તાં તણ (=તસ્ય સત્તાનિધન) then gradually dropping the genitive સ્પ and finally becoming a termination which still farther get worn out into the slender એ. The dative and objective (which is in a sense allied to the dative, the idea of "giving to" being easily transformed into "acting upon") at some stage stopped dead, and modern Gujarati resorted to the circumlocution of combining the genitive એ with the locative એ to express the idea of ને કાંને (કાંય), દિને and the like.

As regards verbs, we shall find a similar process at work. To take the simple tenses first we have કરેણે (Present Indicative)

55 Si. II . VIII iv, 355 and others Hemachandra gives here એ એ the ablative termination, but his illustrations, જરી દોન્તા, તરી દોન્તા &c. include એ-જ વિનાસ્તી, and એ એ really a locative form. I therefore hold that એ એ is the real ablative suffix. I have discussed this point at full length in my paper on the Ablative Termination in Gujarati (Sir *Abu* *Mookerjee* Silver Jubilee Volumes, Vol III, 3).

56 Compare the following sentences in this connection —

(a) થોડે બેઠો, (b) માટીના બેઠો

It will be seen that એ is used to express an idea conveyed by 'on' while મા (which comes from મણ=middle, inside) is used to express the idea conveyed by 'in'. In other words એ expresses બોધેણિક આધાર while માં indicates વૈષયિક આધાર. There are other restricted significations of એ and માં fixed by idiom, e.g. હેઠે પડું would be used in the case of suicidal falling into a well while કૂનારી પડું for an accidental fall, ખાટલે પડું applies to confinement to bed, સાટલારી પડું to the mere physical act of dropping into a bed, ઘર વેસું refers to deprivation of occupation, ઘરમાં વેસું to the mere act of staying inside the house.

कर्य (past tense), करते (future tense), all third person singular. We see at once that करते is analytic in so far as the termination in ते having lost its power of indicating pure existence (the idea of a pure present tense), the form tacks on ते as a help-word for indicating the full sense of the present indicative form, and although ते holds a subordinate position here, it is not a word which has worn out its form or entirely lost its possible independence elsewhere.

कर्य is not exactly expressive of the past tense idea as in "I wrote a letter to you last week" which cannot be correctly rendered by એવે રહમને ગયે અઠવાદિયે કામક લખ્યો, the correct form would be લખ્યો હતો. Thus for expressing the past tense we have to resort to the help word હતો. This would be an analytic form, though, no doubt લખ્યો is synthetic from its heredity.

कરतે is undeniably synthetic, coming as it does from કરિયતિ, કરિસ્તદ્વ.

But a number of forms in different moods and the like require the help of auxiliary variations, e. g. લખ્યોતે (has written), લખ્યો હતો (had written, or wrote), લખ્ય હોત (would have written), લખતો હતો (was writing) &c. These are obviously analytical forms.<sup>57</sup>

On the other hand there are forms like પરત (subjunctive, "would have done"), કરાય (passive). These are distinctly synthetic, as we shall soon see.

The upshot of this brief survey is that Gujarati displays in its verb a variegated mixture of synthetic and analytic forms. An examination of the genesis of the several synthetic forms will show the working of the two processes backwards and forwards. We have already seen the movement from કરદ to કરતે, from કરિયા passive third pers sing to કરિયે ("we do," pres first person, plural), કરિયતે (pass pres 3rd person singular) to કરતે (future, im-

57. Berme (vol. I, p. 50, end of para 2) regards all these variations as "neat and varied combinations of participles with each other, and with the substantive verbs." But he ignores the essential fact that they are the only method of expressing the several moods and tense-varieties.

perative, 2nd person, singular), करिजन (pass., imper., or potential third person, singular) to करजो (future, imperative second person, plural and the like. These are, however, movements from one synthetic form to another with a change only in the sense. But the effects of such changes are visible in a different kind of shifting—a movement from the synthetic to the analytic, and again to the synthetic formation.

Take करत (subjunctive),—हुँ करत, हुँ करत, ते करत, so also in the plural. This करत can be traced to the Prakrit and Ap. विष्वातिपति formation in (अ)=a<sup>68</sup> which (as is shown by its brother termination माण corresponding to the Skr. Atmanepada मान) is but the present participle termination. And करत is but a variation of the Gujarati present participle करतो or comes through करत (present participle). Here the present participle moved into the subjunctive mood.

But this is not exactly the shifting we want to see. That is presented by the passive form कराय (कराये, करायु, करायो etc.). The original Skr. passive is विष्वते, Pr. विजाइ, (करिजन), Post-Ap. (=O. W. R.) करियइ. This करियइ having transferred itself into the present those indefinite first personal plural (करिये) or precative (=we should do), and thus ceased to express the idea of the passive voice proper, a new form had to be devised for the latter expressive ones.<sup>69</sup>

---

58 S: He VIII-iii-180 [कियातिपति 179] त-माणो॥ e g त-  
ज्जेज तु वयसिष्टु जइ भग्ना घर एन्तु॥

The same pres. participle form yields two other moods or forms in Gujarati, (1) करत=करेहे, only in poetry, and (2) करतो=used to do, पैन पैन्यः e. repetition of the act)

59 A converse use of the current passive in भाष्य made by certain old fashioned ladies is very significant. According to orthodox custom ladies observing rules of modesty may not address their children direct, but only impersonally. Such ladies wishing to order their children would not use the imperative (e. g.) पेली वाडकी लावो, but, would say 'पेली वाडकी लावाय,' thus using the current passive for the imperative mood, just as करियइ, the passive, evolved into the imperative करिये.

can be effected reasonably and consistently by viewing the आप as ए a synthetic evolving curiously come out of जाप preceded by अ॒ as an adventitious *dyama*. It is also possible to regard the अ॒ as the residual vowel left after the ए in जाप got elided by the process of wearing out. If this view is accepted, the *dyama* theory must be given up.

Thus કર્યું જાય, a purely analytic formation, found its way into the language to express the passive sense. This in course of time assumed the form કરાય which, examined minutely shows કર્તાય (remnant of યા to go), thus wearing out the help-word into a synthetic termination.

That this is not a fanciful derivation of the passive form will be clear from a deeper inquiry into the question.

- (1) ક્રિયતે (Skr)
- (2) કરિયતે (Pali)
- (3) કિર્જજા-કરિયા (Pr and Ap)<sup>60</sup>
- (4) કરિયા (Post-Ap)
- (5) કિયા જાતા (Hindi)
- (6) કેલે જાતે (Marathi)
- (7) કર્યું જાય (Gujarati of a few centuries ago)
- (8) યમન લોક દેખા જાય (યાય) (Bengali) = Such a person is seen.
- (9) કરાય (M. Guj.).

Throughout this series of forms we find the root યા (=to go) functioning the passive sense in some shape or other. In (5), (6), (7), and (8) the representative of યા(યા) comes clearly as an analytic support. In (1) to (4) યા (disguised as the worn out ય-જ, હ્ય-હ્જન) comes as a synthetic adhesion. [The જન in (8) has to be accounted for. In Pali ય was doubled after a shortened ર, e. g. પેષય (Skr સ્પેષ), ગેષય (Skr ગેષ), and the like. I believe, at some stage in the post Pali period, the ય of the passive came to be doubled into ય્ય. Again the change of ય to ય્ય which in Prâkrit occurs only when the ય is initial, would, in a latent way, indicate the source of the ય termination from યા (=to go), at one time an independent word. This would, in its own way, go to support the theory that the passive formant is the root યા=to go. I present this aspect of the question with all deference and diffidence, for there are other views advanced by various scholars.]

Finally we have the synthetic form કરાય in Modern Gujarati. A priori the chaining of this final link with the preceding series

60 Marwâldi has the synthetic passive કરીનગો (LSI, Vol. IX, Pt II, P. 29).

can be effected reasonably and consistently by viewing the आय as ए a synthetic evolving curiously come out of जाय preceded by आ as an adventitious *dgama*. It is also possible to regard the आ as the residual vowel left after the ए in जाय got elided by the process of wearing out. If this view is accepted the *dgama* theory must be given up.

Dr Tessitori (Notes § 140 and § 186 last para) relying on Hœrule (§ 484 of his *Gaudina Grammar*) regards कराय (passive) as merely the Causitive turned into the passive meaning कराय <करइ- here इ being regarded as merely the remnant of ति (Slr). But I submit the more correct view is that the ए is a remnant of या (=to go) and the आ is not the sign of the causal but only accidentally common to the passive कराय and the causal (कराव) for the आ in the causal is traceable to the आए (Pr and Ap) derivable from the exceptional आए in दाप्यति &c which came to be generalized in the Prakrit causal. This would set free the आ of the passive कराय as an independent factor. Agn n as indicated above the whole chain from (1) to (9) becomes a well linked whole by taking कराय as the last link in it. It will also be seen that while Hindi, Marathi and Bengali have the analytical formation in जाता, जाते, जाय, the Gujarati कर्यु जाय comes as an intermediate step and leads up to the synthetic कराय which is the natural movement of the foundation, the original Skr synthetic क्रियते being but a development of some previous analytic stage wherein ए came in as a separate help word.

There are some scholars who contend that in the forms कराय (१) लखाय (३) &c. ए is merely an adventitious *dgama* while आ is the real passive suffix that लिखा जाता (H) लखयु जाय (G) show that the H आ and G ए represent the passive principle and that the passive forms लखाये, लखातु इति &c. show that ए is absent while आ stands and therefore it is this आ that must be regarded as the suffix of the passive voice. My answer to this will be —

(a) Just as in करइ एइ the आइ of करइ exhausted its present indicative force and so एइ came in as a support even so in लखयु जाय, लिखा जाता the चान्ति (past participle passive) formation exhausted its passiveness (or at least kept it dormant) and so आ came in as a support and supplied the passive sense analytically.

(b) The એ in લાયાય, લાયાએ &c. is visible while in લાયાશે, લાયાનુ etc the એ is obviously dropped, લાયાશે, લાયાનુ, being phonetically preparatory to such dropping besides this એ is the offspring of a long chain (એ, એન, એ એ, એ) of passive suffixes (Vide Tessitori's Notes' § 136 ff and § 140) The એ, therefore, is the real suffix and આ is the *dgama* just as એ is in ત્રિયતે (Skr.), કરિયદ (Pr. &c.).

[According to Tessitori (as implied in his ' Notes ' § 140) this આ was originally a causative but lost its nature and assumed a reflexive or passive meaning I would say, the આ is not a passive suffix but merely an *ugama* or at the worst a euphemic change <sup>21</sup>]

61 Since I worked out the above analysis of the passive suffix એ(એન), my attention was drawn to an illuminating and interesting article on The Bengali Passives by J D A (=J D Anderson obviously) in J R A S 1913 A D, pp 163 ff I find substantial support to my theory in that article I can but give a brief summary of the elaborate discussion entered into by J D A -

(a) J. D. A quotes from Bopp a passage wherein he (Bopp) says - The letter એ is inserted to make up the passive form in Sanskrit which is changed to ન in Prakrit, and thus the Sanskrit એ is the abbreviated form of યા to go The full form of યા is still used in Bengali to prole the passive verb as કরা યান- I am made, literally, I go in in living In Sanskrit compound passive forms occur, besides the simple in એ, as in Latin The Latin *amatum erit* to be loved, is literally to be gone in love

(b) J. D. A then gives several instances of the passive form and observes -

(1) That આમિ કરા જાએ (યાએ) would according to Bopp's view, be correct and not આમાકે કરા જાએ (યાએ), to express the idea- (it) can be done by me

(2) That the several instances are in the third person non honorific form and that therefore it is not clear which of the alternative constructions is intended

but (3) that in એમન લોક દેખા જાય (યાએ) ' such a person is seen ' - the nominative લોક and not the objective લોકકે is used I may be allowed to observe as regards Bopp's statements,

The verb meaning "to go" plays a prominent part in the construction of suffixes. Thus, for in-

*The prominent part played in suffix construction*—

*construction by the roots meaning 'to go'* (1) स्य, the Sanskrit future termination, i a synthetic contraction of अम् (=to be) + पा (=to go); करिष्यति originally covering the sense "is going

- (a) that the tracing of the passive suffix in Sanskrit and the use of जा in Bengali, is no doubt correct, but the psychological process underlying the passive-ness is wrongly analysed. "I go in making" would imply more of an active sense than a passive submission to the process of doing;
- (b) that it is not clear what compound passive forms in Sanskrit are meant by Bopp. Does he mean forms like शत्यमरवेदस्तुभिः × × × आलिष्यतुं पदनः-आलिष्यतुं शत्यम्=आलिष्यते? If so, this expression implies potentially more than mere passive-ness.
- (c) *Amatum iru*—"to be gone in love." Is this a correct analysis? Does not the sentence merely mean—"to go in the action of loving," i. o. "to be loved"? Of course, the literal sense is "to be gone to love."

As regards J. D. A.'s views, I may observe

- (d) that the root-error throughout the discussion lies in regarding the formal subject of a passive verb on the same footing as the *real कर्ता*, agent of the *विधि* (action), and in mixing up the impersonal भवे प्रयोग of intransitive verbs with these cases.

लोक देखा जाय;—here लोक is the subject of देखा जाय, although it is the real object (कर्म) of the act of 'seeing.' Because of the passive form it is the formal subject (and so in the nominative case), it is the subject of जा, but the object of देखा.

- (e) आमाके टाका हय (=I am called), (Bengali)  
खी मारी जातीधी (Hiodti)  
खी मारा ज यने छिलेन (Bengali)  
खीके मारा जायते छिल ( " )  
निनि सुदे मारा जान (यान) ( " )

In these instances the roots माँ and टाक are peculiar verbs which warp the idiom in the matter of concord, as in हुं मोकलीषु (Old Guj) now changed to हुने मोकलीषे.

to do" therefore, "will do" [Dr Sir R G Bhandarkar pointed this out long ago<sup>62</sup>]

(2) So also are the passive formations in Sanskrit, Prakrit and Gujarati (with some other vernaculars) as noted above क्रियते being formed from कृ+या+ते (present tense third person, singular termination) and meaning 'do go is i.e. goes through the process of doing,' 'is being done

(3) करेगा (Hindi) is made up by combining the main root with गा, an evolute of गम् to go. This substantially corresponds to the Sanskrit composition of स्य (the future suffix) except that अम् finds no apparent corresponding element in करेगा<sup>63</sup>. If we accept Dr Bhandarkar's view<sup>64</sup> that करे is a shranksh form of करिष्यति (Skr) through करित्सति, करित्सइ, करित्सइ, करिद् (करइ), करे, (he takes दा as the instances and goes up to दार) the अम् element is perhaps present of course crouching dormant, in the ए of करे (गा).

Dr. Bhandarkar<sup>65</sup> regards this गा as a contraction of गम् from the past participle गत (Skr) of गम् to go and gives as its literal significance "gone that he (may) do. If the close similarity of गा with the original past participle were not in the way, I should have preferred the significance—"goes to do" and therefore "will do"

Beames<sup>66</sup> also regards this गा as the past participle of गम्, and gives the same significance as Dr Bhandarkar viz—"have gone that (I) may do" and compares it with the English idiom

62 His Wilson Philological Lectures, pp 11-12

63. Śāstri Vrajīlī Kālidās (Gujarātī Bhāshā no Itihāsa, p 26, A.D 1866) wrongly regards this as an *apabhramsa* (a corruption or evolute) from the या of स्य, या and गम् meaning the same thing (i.e. to go), are constitutionally separate roots

64 His Wilson Philological Lectures, p 12 also pp 271-2

65 Comparative Grammar Vol III, pp, 160-161.

"I am going to do" and pointedly notes the past participial nature of the suffix (गा-गी) indicated by the inflection for gender and number in concord with the agent. I may only note with reference to this that the English idiom has the present tense (*am going*) whereas the Hindi गा is regarded as a remnant of the participle in the past tense.

Weighing all the considerations against each other, we are forced to accept the view that गा represents the past participle.

(4) The suffix for the Sanskrit causal form अय् (गमयति वायति etc.) also seems to be from the root अय् (=to go) कारयति being equivalent to 'makes another to go to do' a thing i.e. causes him to do it.

From the foregoing discussion as applied to the specimens under our examination it may be inferred pretty correctly that ते came into predominance as a suffix and made the verb analytical some time after 1500 V S and still later that तण became a synthetic suffix after 1700 V S or thereabouts and the other case-endings became synthetic about and after 1750 V S.

(D) *The presence and frequency or prominence of certain special words distinctive of a period*

(D) *Special words of a distinctive nature*

Under this head I pick up the following words —

- (1) चै=साधे (with)
- (2) यु=नेत् (i.e.) used as a termination as in साडिमकणशी दृतपति,
- (3) तयु-genitive termination
- (4) केतु-genitive termination
- (5) ए genitive termination,
- (6) क-genitive termination
- (7) चो-ची-यु-genitive termination
- (8) दूतु-ablative appendage (or absolute case);
- (9) पक्षु-ablative appendage (or absolute case),
- (10) पाहि-ablative appendage,
- (11) आ-ablative ending,

- (12) ઘણી-in the sense of "for; (therefore),"
- (13) જમલો=(a) standing near; (b) equal;
- (14) દેઝ=દેખ, affection;
- (15) મુજન in the sense of મુજને;
- (16) રેસિ as a dative appendage (generally);
- (17) રહણ as a dative or genitive appendage.

To run over these words as rapidly as their respective importance demands—

- (1) શું is very frequent ever since Narasinha Mehtā's time, and is still in vogue in modern poetry (not in prose).

(a) કેલી ફરતી કૃષ્ણશું કરે પૈપેકાર રે ॥

(Narasinha Mehtā; *Rāsa-sahasra-padi*, pida 5, st. 1  
and in numerous other places.)

(b) તદ્વારીભદ્રું રતિ માંદિ ॥

(Vasantarūlida, st. 84.)

(c) પ્રેમદ્રૂં જર્દ ચરણ દાણ માતનિ કુમાર

Bhālaṇī, *Kādambarī*, *pūrṇabhdga*, p. 68, l. 18.)

(d) યૌરન માટ્ટ મોટ્ટ અંગ, પરાણીદ્રૂં સાજા રંગ।

ચરધરણીદ્રૂં નાવિ યાદિ

(*Vimala-prabandha*, III-78)

[Note—(a), (b) and (c) belong to the beginning of the sixteenth century of the Vikrama era, and (d) to the latter half of that century (V. S. 1568) ]

This શું, originally coming from સિ (Skr.) or સમં (Skr.), can be traced back through a variety of forms, શું, સિં and the like. We have seen સિં in the *Mugdhā-abodha Aulīka*, ચૈતું લોક સિં વાત કરાં (supra, p. 67).

- (2) એશું. This, derived from એટશું, as in માટશું (Skr.)=મુજશું (Guj.), through એટિં, એસં, has manifested itself very rarely in the works of the older poets, and is visible in the time of Premānanda or thereabouts, oftener than in earlier times. In modern poetry it is in frequent use.

Thus —

*Nareinha Mehta*

(a) गोरुंगुं वदन ने गलस्पल फळके  
 (*Kṛeṣya sangraha*, p. 493, pada 9)

(b) लांबीशी दोक ने कांकोल चारतो  
 (*Ibid*, p. 479, pada 27)

*Premānanda.*

(c) सुखमल सुभद्रार्दृं फळके रे,  
 जाणे चंद्रविद्वद्वृं चलके रे  
 (*Subhadrā harana*, XXI)

(d) गलस्पल नारंग फलद्रा, आरित्य इन्दू अकोटी  
 (*Nalālhyāna*, XV.)

(e) नगरी (?) नगर सणीने यह उजड रानद्वृं  
 (*Vrajareli*, by Premānanda, st. 252)

(f) फळके दादमबीहद्रा दंत  
 (*Mohani starūpa*, st. 14 by Dīyaram )  
 Modern Poetry.

*Narasimharau Bholāndīth.*

(g) धोकी वरफली दोकनी मध्य सुनेरी काँडो  
 (*Kusuma mālā*, p. 36.)  
 “आशापंखीदृ” (st. 2, l. 1.)

(h) वक्की अमृतद्वृं सीड गान वरे दिव्य पखीदृं  
 (*Ibid* st. 3, l. 3)

*Nānalal D. Kali.*

(k) प्रङ्ग बेतहू, प्रेमचन्द्रद्वृं,  
 दृश्यमान थपु  
 (*Vasantotsava*, p. 8, l. 2)

(l) वचमा जळभर्या अमृतद्वृं,  
 न्हातु सरोवर हह  
 (*Ibid*, p. 9, l. 18)

(m) ताराना झूमखाँशी  
 छटकती मर्जीओमा  
 (*Ibid*, p. 21, l. 4)

(n) સોનારુષાના થાલુંનું વન

(*Indulumâra*, p. 9, l. 9)

(o) સ્ફાયિલતાઓશા બાલાઓના કરમાં

(*Ibid*, p. 13)

(p) ગુઢુલાની પતાકાશો

ધૂર્ણ સમીર લદેઠેસ્તો

(*Ibid*, p. 114)

and in numerous other places all over his works. In fact his use of this form is unrestrained by any sense of propriety or grace in several cases, and 'નું' runs wild in his compositions. His imitators have surpassed him in the absurdity of the use of this form.

A glance at the instances given above will show that the form as employed by Narasinha Mehta, ગોંડુંજું and લાંબીશી, have not the exact significance of a simile (उપમા), the word to which the નું is appended does not represent an ઉપમાન, as is the case with the later usage, e. g. ચન્દ્રવિશુંનો Premânanda, where ચન્દ્રવિશું is the ઉપમાન. The earlier usage adopts નું in the sense of the English suffix -ish as in "whitish" "reddish" &c. (where "like" is also used to signify the same idea). An old popular stanza repeated by Bhaviyâs has the word ન્હાનીશી in the same sense—

ન્હાનીશી<sup>66</sup> નાર ને નાફમાં મોતી,  
પિણ પુરેણ ને વાટડી જોતી,  
લલે કાગળ ને નિરગમે દહાડા,  
એળી અંધાળીએ નાગરવાડા.

It is probable that નું did not come direct from forms ending in દશ, such as માદશ, તાદશ, અન્યાદશ for it won't do in Sanskrit to say ચન્દ્રવિશુદશ, નારંગફલદશ, or the like, the word દશ would be

66 This usage is found occasionally in Modern Gujarati also, e. g. કાળચક્ર જે ધૈર્યે ન્હાનુંનું દેની નબો (Narasinharao, *Kusumamâla*, p. 4, *Kula chakra*, st 2, l. 3). Marathi has this form and meaning in ordinary usage, as in લહાનસા, ઘોડીશી &c.) in common parlance and literary usage also.

used there: चन्द्रविश्वसद्ग etc.. It is very likely that the latter day use of शुं (as in चन्द्रविश्वशुं) arose by dropping the स in this सद्ग. Or it may be that in view of the usage like नयाणं तं चोऽरसजसां (Narasinha Mehitā; Works, p. 126, *Chāturi*, 14th, st. 3), the final form in शुं alone was evolved by dropping ज in जशुं (=जेशुं) from याद्ग. But I would prefer the derivation from सद्ग; for the compound with सद्ग is common in Skr., and याद्ग, the Skr. original of जशुं, cannot form a compound; and just as कीदर्शं has evolved the interrogative शुं through केरिं, कूर्सं, कर्सं, by dropping the क, सद्ग appears to have similarly yielded शुं expressing the idea of similarity. In any case, the use of शुं to mark the relation of उपमान and उपमेय is hardly to be observed in works before the time of Premānanda, he was perhaps the first to use this mode, and even his use is not very frequent (certainly not so frequent as in some modern poetry); even Dayārām does not appear to indulge much in this formation. I should really like to be corrected if this result of my *enrtey* is defective or wrong. But, so far, I have not succeeded in discovering anything contrary to my observation noted here. (The instance quoted by me from Dayārām, No. (f) above, is but a rare one).

(8) and (4)—तशुं and केतुं.—I have already noted the detached use of तशुं (detached from the genitive link स as in तासतण); see *supra* p. 80 and p. 25. It will be seen therefrom that the use of तण without the स began as early as *Kāñhadade-prabandha* (V. S. 1612). But we can take this use of तशुं further back to the period of the *Mugdhabodha AuktiLa* (V. S. 1100), which has expressions like चैत्रतणं (पतु गामि छद्द), गुरतणं (वचन हृतं सांभलते) etc..

केतुं, similar in use to तशुं, is somewhat in rarer use than तशुं; and we do not easily come across expressions like परिकेतुं वा वा do in the case of तासतणं.

Of course तशुं and केतुं, as pure genitive terminations, have survived till now, but only in poetry. The instances from *Mugdhabodha* given above as also others (e. g. ईं स्थीतणे...शरीरह in *Ardāgrī*—see *supra* p. 50) show that शुं was used in prose also during the fifteenth and neighbouring centuries.

## (5) ર as a genitive termination

This, even in old Gujarati is of very rare occurrence. Thus —

(a) પારસીકર દેસનિ રાઇ રાનિ કીષુ ભેટ્ય

(Bhalina's *Kādambari-purrabhdga* p 55, 1 21),

(b) કામિનીરિ શુદ્ધગૂપિ શીચ્છા ઘૂરુલ વિશાલિ

(*Ibid* p 92 1 15),

(c) પદિરાએ કણાયરી ગ્રૂદિ

(*Kanha lade prabandha* IV—48)

(d) દરણ અપૂરા<sup>67</sup> યમણા જાઇ

(*Vimala prabandha*, II-25)

(e) પચારી કારણ વઢવીર

તતિર પ્રતિ પૂર્યો ચોર

(*Sudamā Sara* by Solvi V S 16th Century)

(See the edition of Premawanda's *Sudamā clarita* by Mr. Manjulal R. Majmudar Appendix p 107 st 32)

The expression means —તાતણાના પ્રતિ । ચ તાતણાની સ્હાને, પદ્ધામા જેટલા તાતણા તેટલા.

Several derivations of this termination ર are suggested —

(1) કૃત+ર (the *taddhita* termination given in Panini V-ii-107) it turns into (કૃતર) કયર, કેર (Guj genitive from આપ કેર), and finally only the ર

(2) ર (Skr suffix from રૂ=to do as in ચુલ્લર etc), the ર getting worn out leaves ર as a termination,

(3) કાર્ય(ક)-કેરમ-ર,

(4) ર, itself the *taddhita* suffix given in Panini V-ii-107.

As regards (4) there is the objection that ર being originally a possessive (માત્રાર્થી) termination the genitive sense would involve an inversion of the relation between the possessor and the possessed,

67. Rao Bahadur K. H. Dhruva (Notes to Bhalina's *Kādambari-purrabhdga*, p 238) takes this અપૂરા as અષ્ટ (Skr અષ્ટન)=road+ર termination. This is obviously a conjectural interpretation, and, if we discount its value, illustration (d) may be excluded.

पारसीकर means "of the पारसीक," and not "that which possesses the पारसीक." This difficulty can be got over by the explanation supplied by Bhattoji Dikshita in the gloss on Panini १-१-१४ where the several significances of मतुप् and similar suffixes are stated in the following stanza —

भूमनिन्दाप्रयसादु नित्ययोगेऽतिशायने ।  
सवन्येऽस्तिविशाया भवन्ति मतुवादय ।

The 1st significance सवन्य will tide over the difficulty. But there is another draw back to assume that this त in the old vernacular is the initial Shr त which is found in मधुर, उपर, सुखर etc makes rather a large demand on our credulity especially when there are letter derivations available <sup>68</sup>\*\*

(1) and (3) differ only in the initial stage of deriving केतु, one derives it from कृत+र and the other from कार्य (क) The latter (3) is preferable in fitting in with probabilities as is so well shown by Dr Bhandarkar on the analogy of पर्यन्त (Shr)-पर्यन्त (Pr), अपर्यन्त (Shr)-अपर्यन्त (Pr) the अपर्य of कार्य faring similarly as पर्य of पर्यन्त and पर्य of अपर्य, in I turning into पैर <sup>69</sup>\*\*

The question then is between deriving from केर (Ap) and no (2) कर To derive the simple र from रर in preference to कर is hardly correct कर yields the र more easily especially as we have कर in Hindi and र in Oriya. The change of sense of कर from "doer to belonging to" is well explained by Dr Bhandarkar <sup>70</sup>\*\*

[Dr Tessitori Notes § 73 (6) regards रड (रो) as a curtailment of केरड ]

68 R B K H Dhruva being in love with the pure र theory goes the length of believing that the genitive suffix कर in Hindi so frequently used by Tulsidasa (see Dr Bhandarkar's Lectures pp 259 260) is composed of क and र, both severally a qualifying स्वर्य. This is quite unnecessary, when रर (from रु) is so well explained by Dr Bhandarkar in the pages just referred to (see K H Dhruva's Notes to Bhāskara's *Kālāñjali*, p 238)

69 His Philological Lecture, p 257.

70 Ibid p 259

It is needless to repeat that this *ṭ* suffix disappeared after the period marked by Bhilana and Padmanabhi.

(6) क This genitive termination is rarer than *ṭ*, even in Old Gujarati.

भानी देस देवकइ पार्णि (Kāñha lade prabandha 1-77)

(7) चो-ची-चु genitive termination.

This rather abnormal feature reveals itself in Narasinha Mehta's compositions and in *Vasantavilasa*, *Sitā harana*, *Vimala prabandha* and *Bhramara Gita* &c in the literature of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and early part of the seventeenth century. Thus *Narasinha Mehta* (V S 1471 to 1536)

(a) नरसेयाचो स्वामी मादरो जीवन मरकारडा मने मारे रे

(*Sringāramāla* pada 332),

(b) मस्तक सुगटचो भार (Chātūr' chhatriṣi 14-8),

(c) माननीयांचा मान ढीडाव (Bdlar illā pada 21-2),

(c)-2 उंदरीयांचा स्वभाव एवा पीपुली विना न सोहाये

(*Sringara Māla* pada 128 at 4)

(d) दपिच्छु पात्र ते विरप्ती दलितु जी (Chātūr' chhatriṣi, 2-7)

(d)-2 खडाचो भूदण सजनी

अळांगो न मेलु दिवस ने रजनी

(*Sringara māla*, pada 97)

*Vasantavilasa* (V S 1508)

(e) चदम चटचु मीत (stanza 18)

(f) आळडी मयणची जाणि (stanza 34)

*Kāñha lade prabandha* (V S 1512)

(g) तेहचा प्रेम अभार (III-231)

*Sitā harana* (V S 1526)

(h) पहिल तथाच्यू नाम at 1 at the beginning

*Vimala-prabandha* (V S 1568)

(k) पूरे मनची आस (1-19)

(l) कल्पकृष्णकुसुमांची माड (1-50)

(m) सुनि आपण्यसमपची धाणी (1-95) (Same at the close of each *Khanda*, nine *Khandas* in all).

*Bhramara-gītā*, by Brabudeva (V. S. 1609)

(n) जे योगीयांची घ्याने नावे ते कृष्ण प्रीते वरज वस्या.

The usual place for this च termination was at the end of a piece in giving the name of the poet as in (a) and (m) above. The rarer cases are such as are given in the remaining instances. The instances in (c), (c)-2, (l) and (n) may give the impression of identity with the forms in Modern Marāthī. But कुसुमांची in (l) is but an old Gujarātī nenter plural (in આં) plus the च for the genitive, and माननीपांचा in (c) and उंशीपांचा in (c)-2 and योगीपांचा in (n) have the old Guj. feminine plural of मानवी and उंदरी and ussc. plur. of योगी plus the च for the genitive; the nasal in both, ांची and ાંપાં is a weak nasal (‘), while the Modern Marāthī has the strong nasal in such cases.

This च termination peeps out as rather an abnormal feature about half a century later than the last in the group of works noted above, in *Nala-Damayanti Rāsa* by Nayasundara (V. S. 1665):

(o) यशरि केवळ तुहाचे काम सा दपिता हुं छंडे स्वाम  
(VI-78)

As also in the same author's *Rūpachanda Kūtara-Rāsa* (V. S. 1687):—

(p) ते तुमची करये वहु सेव (IV. *chopāt* 27),

(q) हुम पथारो तुमचे ठाम (*Ibid, chopāt* 35);

(r) अहो रहे अमची स्वामिनी र्हों रेम समान (*Ibid, dūhā* 5);

and at several other places.

This may be due to the tendency of Jain writers towards adopting old and nearly obsolete forms and words.

(8) हुंतुं Ablative termination, or in absolute cases.

This form is found from the period of the *Mugdhdharabodha* *Aulikā* down to the Jain *Rāsas* about the end of the seventeenth century of the Vikram era. Thus:—

*Ablative:—*

(a) नेह-तउ-हुंतउ-धउ-धकउ इत्यादि चोलिवद् etc.

(*Mugdhdharabodha Aulikā*; p. 8, col. 2) V. S. 1450;

(b) પાટણહુંતુ યાન તેણાદુ

(*Kdnhadade-prabandha*, II-78) V. S 1512,

(c) જાણે શીહ ગફામાં હુંતુ

(*Vimala prabandha* IV-92) V S 1568,

(d) એટલે રાજદસની રાશિ

શિતિ પુહુતી હૃતી આદાશિ

(*Nala Damayanti Rasa* by *Nayasundarī Prastīra* III,  
Dhāla 1, st 27) V S 1665.

*Absolute case* —

(e) છેર હું હૃતાં

(*Ardd-Gītra* Gujarati translation, 83 9), before V. S 1471,  
when the oldest copy was made [So also જીવતી હૃતી 40 4]

(f) નંદ હુંતે દોર રહ્યું સુલી

(*Nala Damayanti Pīsa*, by *Meghavīja*, II-4, st 6), V. S  
1664,

(g) આવર હુંતે સ્થ કર્યે એ

(*Hiranyakasa Sūn Rasa*, 30- 27) V S 1685.

The presence of હુંતા in the *Magdhīvabodha Aulikā* seems to be the earliest. Considering the fact that this manual gives તાં, હૃતાં, પાં, પુંતાં, as variants of the ablative suffix, we may safely conjecture that હુંતા had established itself well at that time so that it may be regarded as about half a century old at the time. The beginning of the fifteenth century (Vil rama era) is then the earliest limit of time. Its latest limit appears to be the end of the seventeenth century (Vikrama era) unless there be stray instances in later times.

This હુંતા is the evolute of the Apabhramśa હોન્તા (S: *He*, VIII in 800 gloss), which Hemachandra has curiously neglected, regarding, in its stead the locative દી in જાહા હોન્તા &c as the ablative sign, as I have already indicated before <sup>71</sup>. This હોન્તા is the Ap. present participle of Skr ભ્ર (�રન्). It will be noted

71 See *supra* page 85, text and note 55

that it is therefore adjectival in form, taking the gender &c. of the noun it qualifies; दृतु राम (masc), दृती रामी (fem), and it governs the locative form (manifest or latent), आकाशि दृती, गकामाहि दृतु—manifest, and पाठणदृतु—latent. In (d) दृती आकाशि is an inversion of आकाशि दृती, to secure the rhyme with रामी, and it shows incidentally the semi-independent nature of दृती as a participial help word of the analytic stage, and not a synthetic termination (like पी of modern Gujarati).

The instances of the absolute case are exactly cases of the locative absolute, दृत दृतइ=पये छते, जीर्णी दृती=जीर्णी उते (the feminine is found with the locative suffix dropped), नळ दृते=नळ छते (where नळ is in the locative case with the termination dropped), आवळ दृते=आवळ उते-पर्देते (आवळ locative just like नळ). This use of दृत is not earlier than the sixteenth century, nor later than the seventeenth century, Vikrama era, so far as my inquiry shows.

(9) थकु ablative appendage, or absolute case.

(1) नरवर निम मदिर थिकु त जार्ण तिनि पाणि

(*Sudoyarata rira charita*, belonging to a period before the *Mugdhdabodha Auktika*)<sup>72</sup>

(b) जेह तउ द्वातउ थड थकउ इत्यादि योदिवइ

(*Mugdhdabodha Auktika*, V S 1450)

(c) मारे मंदिर स्थकी दृण मुकावदे  
श करने रे पेली लोक्य गोपी

(d) मान रे माननी मान देउ घणु  
न जाउ मदिर स्थको थोल दीधो

(*Narasinha Mehta, Apratiddha Karaga* V S 1470 to 1530)

(e) न विसरइ ते शुभ मनि थिकउ

(*Panchalihyina*, 388, V S 1500-1550, Tessitori, "Notes" §72 (4))

(f) जाआहा थिकउ (Ibid, 641)

72 Chimanlal Dalal (Preliminary Report on MSS. at Pātana, P 34) considers this work to belong to the sixteenth century, Vikrama era. The forms अरणइ, मरणइ, सु-दे, मध्येतु &c. which are found in the work in profusion must place the work a good deal earlier, long before the *Mugdhdabodha* period.

(g) ભૂપદ પીડદિર્ય થકાં કાર્ય નદૃપિર્ય જોત્રિર્ય  
 (Ardā Girā,-Gujarātī translation 32-7.  
 Anterior to V. S. 1507).<sup>73</sup>

(h) રત્નજહિત ચંદુભા ધિકાં દીસા મોતીનાર્ય ઝુંકાં ॥  
 (Kānhadade-prabandha, III-151)

(i) વપરિ થિકા સાંચરિ સાહણ વેગિ ઉહુતા ઘાટિ ।  
 (Ibid, I-191)

(j) એકગાર આગા દેત્ય થિકૂ રામા દદ પૂરાશિર ॥  
 (Ibid, I-110)

(k) તિદ્દો થિકા રામ સંચરિયા

(l) ચિશ્યોટિ પિંકૂ ફરિંબં પીયાણું

(Sūd-haranya, by Karmanā; V. S. 1526; see *supra*, p. 85)

(m) નીદ થકુ તવ પડણુ નીસ્તરી  
 (Bhālaṇa's Kādambarī P. 29, I, 14; about V. S. 1500)

(n) રામતર રાજા રાવિ જોડી દીન થકા તે દ્વાધ  
 (Ibid, P. 2, I. 28)

(o) ભ્રાત થકાં મિ મદિ હીંદાષ  
 (Ibid, P. 24, I. 2)

(p) સ્કાટિક મિત્તિ સમીપ રહી પુષ્પક થકો તે ભાસિ નહીં  
 (Ibid, P. 88, I. 15)

(q) નેત્ર પવલ થકાં ઇ દીસિ સ્વભાવિ આરક  
 (Ibid P. 70, I. 12)<sup>74</sup>

73. Mr. Muncherji P. Khareghat in his extremely instructive and illuminating preface to the Gujarātī version of this work points out over a dozen other instances. 51.4, 48.6, 53.8, 18.5, 53.1, 55.5, 4.21, 30.1, 27.4, 3.4, 3.5, 53.6, 53.7, 19.6. (18.5 is hardly apposite અનેરે પુણી સર્વ પાકી રહી; the expression આકી રહી here seems to mean stayed.)

74. In his note on નીદ થકુ (P. 29, I. 14, Notes, p. 212) Rao Bahadur K. H. Dbruva regards the ક in થકુ as a પ્રશ્નિન (interpolated) ક suffixed tacked on to થિકાર. He obviously ignores the derivation of થકુ from થકું and the fact that કા would be elided, whereas કુ would yield the ક in Gujarātī.

(r) आव्यांछि आरासणि धिकां

(*Vimala-prabandha*, IV, 70; V. S. 1568.)

(s) विणि वर दीपा पोतिइ थका (? धिका)

(*Ibid*, IV-72.)

(t) उत्पति सप्तकी ए स्थकी वक्त्री प्रले थई एमां भले

(*Bhramara-gita*, by Brahmudeva; *Aprasaddha Kārya*, V. S. 1600)

(t)-1 च्यार रल लहिये तिहां स्थकां ॥ ३७ ॥

(*Sudamā-ālhyāna*; Ms. No. 51 स in the Forbes Sabhā Collection; date of copy probably V. S. 1710).

(t)-2 ते स्पर्सी अपीकुं मोरुलो

(*Chandrakāśedākhyāna*, by Vishṇudāsa; V. S. 1634)

(u) लाङुभा माहि थकु कढकु एक झूतरानइ पातिइ

(*Vallīlāṭpancharati*, about V. S. 1620, see *supra*, p. 47)

(v) ते ज स्त्रवार ते नाये चेडो थको

(v. 1. दें पके)

(*Alhe-Gītā*, pada I, st. 2, V. S. 1705.)

(w) भक्ति स्थकी पाताल चांप्या नीवारो संदेह

(*Vāmanākhyāna*; *Premānanda*, V. S. 1730 *Aprasiddha Kātya*.)

(x) ए कोप्यो थको रे व्योम वसुपा वने एकडां करे

(*Abhimanyu-ālhyāna*, *Premānanda*, V. S. 1727.)

[The present day colloquial use of पकु in expressions like हुं मोडो थको आवी जईता may be compared here with interest.]

It will be noticed that the word we are considering appears in the variant forms पकु (पकड), रपकु (स्थकड), &c., The थ is obviously traceable to that in स्थकु, the source-word. The scribes are responsible, it seems, in some cases, for continuing this थ when it had ceased to be used most probably.

The ablative sense will be found in instances (a), (b), (c), (d), (e), (f), (g), (h), (i), (j), (k), (l), (m), (r), (t), (t)-1, (t)-2, (u) and (w); in (s) the sense is partly ablative, पोतिइ धिका

meaning, literally, out of (from) herself, i. e. of her own accord; and in the remaining instances the word પણ (પણ) is used absolutely; in (b) the sense is absolute in a slightly modified way, પણિ being equivalent to સ્વિતાનિ, રહેતાનિ.

### 10 પાંદિ, પાંદિ, or પાંડ or પણ, as an ablative suffix.

This is almost invariably used to mark comparison (just like the word "than" in English).

(a) ઇન્દ્રજાય પાંદિ ચંદ

(*Indriya-parājaya-satala*, 86.) (V. S. 1550-1606)

(b) તુંગનાં જીવ્યાપાંદિ મરણ રૂંડ

(*Dalar-i-aklîka-sutra* I, 12) (V. S. 1150-1656).

(c) એક એક પાંદિ અધિક દીપણ

(*Sûlibhadra-chaupai*, 71) (V. S. 1550-1606)

(d) અદીરત્ત પાંદિ અધિકા

(*Ibid.*, 175)

(e) આરમા ચોંડ અધિક વાદાણી, તેમણું અંચાર

(Bhîshama's *Kûdambari*, *pûrî abhîgo*, p. 69, l. 1)

(About V. S. 1550)

(f) માતા પાંદિ કું અધિક

(Bhîma Kavi's *Prabodha-prakâsa*, VI, 28) (V. S. 1516)

(g) એકએક પાંદિ સપરાણા

(*Kânkaçade prabandha*, I-182) (V. S. 1512)

(h) યાર્વતાં જે નરસુપ જાપિ

જ્ઞણ પર્દ તે(હ) દદ્દ ધાપિ ॥

(*Sudâma-sûra*, by Sôma, st. 25, as given in Appendix 1 to *Sudâma-charita* of Premînanda, edited by Mr. Manjulal R. Majmudâr)

[The editor gives જ્ઞણ પર્દ હેદ દૃઢ ધાપિ and puts a (?) after it, evidently being unable to construct the reading correctly as given by me.]

Instances (a) to (d) are taken from Teekholi's "Notes" § 71,

(8) and § 79. पाहि obtained by the loss of the ग् in पाहि is further reduced to षे in later literature; thus Akho has

(1) बाल्कर्षे धरडो ते शन्य

(*Chhappā, Veda-anga* st. 58).

(2) मनिशर्षे देव उत्तम ल्यते

(*Ibid, ibid*, st. 71).

and Premānanda has

(3) अकेको कग जे तादुलतणो इंद्रात्तर्षे मोघो धगो

(*Suddāma-charita*, XII, st. 2)

(4) एकुष्कर्षे अद्कां मोती राजमाता ते टकटक जोती

(*Nalākhyāna*, LVIII)

and Dīyārāmī has

(5) कोइकोइना गांश्या न जाय एम एकुष्कर्षे चलिया

(*Hanumān-Garuḍa-Samudda*)

(6) आ जीव्यार्षे चूइ भछु

(*Dhruvākhyāna*, by Tulasī, पूर्वांश्यो IV, V. S. 1614)

But we find षे as early as Narasinha Mohtā also:

(7) तेषे तो हुं हरिनो यदालो

(*Hira-mālā*, pada 2, st. 5);

but the genuineness of this work itself as Narasinha's is in question; and thus form, षे, may lend support to this doubt, or, it may be that this form षे in this line is a modification of a later period.

This षे generally used to denote comparison expressed by "than" is on rare occasions used in the purely original ablative sense (उपादान), i.e. "from", e.g. सकल इंद्रिये छूटो रमे.

(Akho; *Chhappā*; *Fuṭakalā-anga*, st. 4).

Tessitori derives पाहि from पाहे ("Notes" § 71(8)). Rao Bahadur K. H. Dhruvā (p. 252 of his edition of *Kādambarī*, *Pūrṇabhāg*) derives it from पाष्ठन (पाष्ठ would have been better). Both present the idea conveyed by the expression "by the side of" which indicates comparison, for you compare things by putting them beside one another. Marathi षवी (=than) coming from अपेश्या (Skr.), may suggest अपेश्या as the source of पाहि. पाखि� (=without),

old Gujarātī (as also modern Gujarātī among some classes), comes from પણ undoubtedly. Putting all these facts together I was inclined to accept Tessitori's derivation of પાણિ from પણ, which gives us પાણિ meaning "without" on the one hand, and પાણિ meaning "than" on the other. But in view of the instrumental or agentive sense of પાણિ in other cases, noted just below, I finally accept પણ as the derivation of પાણિ.

[પાણિ, used as an instrumental or agentive suffix, traceable to the same પણ, presents a change of sense.

(1) પ્રતીદ્વાર પદ લાગી તામ મહામચ સિદ્ધાધનિ તામ  
અંકરારે નલદ્વપાણિ

(*Nala-Damayanti rāsa*, by *Nayasundara*, VIII, 34)

"had the throne adorned by Nala, i. e. Nala was made to sit on the throne."

(2) તુ અરદાસ, પાસિ તુદ દીધી જે કાન્દહદે રાદ

(*Kānhdhade-prabandha*, I-140).

i. e. જે કાન્દહદે રાદ તુદ પાસિ (= by you, through you, તુદારી કને-મારફત) દીધી તે અરદાસ થો. (પાસિ here clearly connects પાણિ with પણ) This પાણિ as a suffix of the instrumental case became પણ also —યાચવા વેલા થીજગાડીસ માતપિતાપણે ખંડાન્ય સીસ ॥ (Suddhā sāra, st. 23)]

This use of પાણિ, originally a suffix of the ablative case, as one of the instrumental case, may be compared to the present day use of the ablative suffix પી for the instrumental, e. g. ભાગેલી કલમ્યી કાગળ લરૂયો.]

A similar transference of case-sense is noticeable in the termination હતિ as seen in the expression મન હતિ રાંધિયાત found in more places than one in a poetical rendering of *Ardā-Gvī*, a manuscript of which, belonging to Dr. Jivanji J. Modi, was shown to me by Mr. Behramgur Anklesaria. The date of the copy is V. S. 1801. The author, Rustam Peshotan Hormazdiyār (Hamjiyār) flourished about 1664 A. D.=V. S. 1720.

હતિ in these instances changes its ablative sense to the instrumental in the first instance, then to the locative.

(11) आं—*Ablative ending.*

Tessitori thinks that this suffix is very rarely met with ("Notes" § 61); and cites—

(a) दुषी सिंह कोपां जळि धयः

(*Pānchālīhyāna*, 484 V. S. 1556-1606)

and

(b) ते दुख धोदीशी चेलां सदिया पछी विलू जाइ

(Bālivabodha to Nemichandra's *Shashtri-Satakā* 155)

(V. S. 1600-1656).

But Bhālaṇa's *Kādambarī* (about V. S. 1550) abounds in this form—

(c) कुलम केतां लीलां जेवि स्पर्शं हूउ संग

(P. 15, 1. 1.)

(d) वांछित वसुधां भोग

(P. 3, 1. 10.)

(e) विलासवतीइ प्रसव्यु उत्तम चेलां तेन

(P. 49, 1. 18).

(f) ए द्युष्या अनर्थं जपाइ अकेकलर्दू इ

(P. 70, 1. 7)

(g) आंत थकां मि नवि हीदाय

(P. 24, 1. 2)

(h) छुड थयां द्विजकेर पात

(P. 27, 1. 9)

*Nala-Damayanti-Rāsā* by Nayāsundara, (V. S. 1665) furnishes forms in this suffix:

(k) पहिलां हरिपत्नी भोदवी निथल मन तुमर्यु मेळवी

(*Prastāra* III *dhāla* i, st. 45)

(l) रति नहि वैठां सभामाहि गीतधुं नहीं चित (II-ii-4)

*Ardā-Gītrā* (Gujarāti version), before V. S. 1471, has the following:—

- (m) ચદોર પડુડલ જાતાં એલિપાચ નદી (4-24)
- (n) અદાડ અદુતાં તજ રાયે બીદતાડ (4-48)
- (o) જીણાં ન્યાય કરતાં નાસ્તિક્ય ભણાતાડ પૃદ્દ નીયત્બ (13-4)

Tessitori (Notes § 61) derives this suffix, અિ, from Skr સ્માત् through the Ap દી (given by Hemachandra in the case of pronouns) or from Ap ablative plural suffix, *ahu*. The former, દી, has been shown by me to be a mistake of the locative.<sup>75</sup> Nevertheless it is possible that the અિ came from સ્માત् through a conjectural દી. The latter derivation may perhaps be more acceptable.

Pad Bahadur K. H. Dhrunav<sup>76</sup> regards this અિ as the evolvent of Skr adverbial suffix અમ्, found in words like ચિરમ्, કામમ् etc. This is doubtful. The ablative sense cannot easily be extracted from this અમ्. The અમ् is really the precursor of M. Gaj અ, as in પ્રાપમ્ય Skr પ્રેણ (Guj. adv.)

In the instances given above you will notice the change in the shades of meaning of this અિ suffix, in some cases the sense is purely ablative as in (a), (d), and (h), in others it is instrumental, as in (e), (f), and (g), and in others again, it is locative or very much near it as in (b), (c). The અિ in instance (k) is locative in significance while that in (l) is ablative first and then perhaps locative. That in (m), (n) and (o) is locative.<sup>77</sup> The instance (g) is very significant આનત પકા મિ નવિ દોઢાય. Here મિ is distinctly instrumental (મૃદી), the agentive form linked with દોઢાય (pressive) and the adjectival પકા qualifying મિ would necessarily be in concord with it, yet the form in અિ is ablative and this in a way, heralds the instrumental or agentive sense of the ablative in પી, as in

75 See *supra* p. 85 n. 55

76 Notes to Bhilana's *Kādambarī pātra bhāgī*, P. 178, middle

77 Mr. M. P. Khareghat in his Preface to the Gujarati version, p. xix n. 27, conjectures that this gerund is derived from the Prakrit equivalent of the locative singular of the Sanskrit noun with the suffix તિ, e.g. જાતિ from યેષાત् "is going" or "while going", the locative of યાતિ. In view of the analysis of the form given above, this conjecture can hardly be concurred in.

म्हारापी लंखारौ which is peculiar to the potential mood. Earlier Gujarati has the agentive in such cases; e. g.

हेकी रीति त्रये भाईनी महे तो नव रदेकाय

(Premānanda's *Nalālhyāna*).

Forms like अवतां, जरां etc. as in

(1) भगतां पंडित नीरने दखतां दहियो धाय

(2) पातां गाय तेहनी अक्षल जाय

In modern Gujarati are nothing but the present day representatives of this old ablative form in अं.

It will be seen that the older usage covers the period between V. S. 1500 and 1665. Outside this period the usage would be a rarity.

(12) भणी in the sense of "for (=माटे)," "therefore."

Tessitori has the following instances —

(a) तेह भणी (=therefore);

(*Chhāyā* to Hemachandri's *Yoga-saṅgraha* (V. S. 1456-1556) *Bālī-abodha* to the *Indriya-parājaya-satala*, (V. S. 1556-1606) &c.;

(b) स्या भणी (=wherfore 1);

(*Panchālhyāna*, 585, V. S. 1556-1606);

(*Ādinātha-charitṛā*, V. S. 1556-1606);

(c) देवदत्तनइ मिलवा भणी;

(*Panchālhyāna*, 298);

(d) राजाना प्रतिक्रीयना भणी सुंदतइ गाधा वही;

(*Ādinātha charitra*),

(e) शाख समुद तरवा भणी नीति खुदि छइ नाव।

(*Panchālhyāna*, 5);

(e)-(1) अँगुली हही भणी तेह हई चीजबं नाम कोणी

इसिवं प्रसिद्ध हुँ।

(Somasundara-tāra's Commentary on Dharmadāsa's *Uttaca-mālā*, gāthā 149; V. S. 1667).

The meaning is अंगली कीही माटे त्वेत वीर्यं नाम 'कोणी' हेतु प्रसिद्ध थय.

The finger decayed, therefore his other name, viz. Koni, was published.

I cull the following instances from *Nala Damayanti Pâta* by Niyasundara (V S 1660) —

(f) पदिल तुज वसिकर्वा भणी

भमिहि दोइ दमयती तणी (V m 76),

(g) पुरुष भणी हु अबगो रलो (II 13),

(h) चाल्यो तेहने वरवा भणी (VI 72),

(l) ते भणी लोकपाल हुप्रसन्न

थाओ एव सुन महो वचन (VI-80),

(l) तेहव स्वागत करवा भणी (VI 98),

and from the same author's *Rupachanda Kûrvara-Rûpa*

(V S. 1637)

(m) दाज तभी कहुँदै ते भणी

(IV clepat 15)

Of the above instances a majority, viz. (c), (d), (e), (l), (b), and (l), show भणी preceded by the infinitive participial form in अहु,-करवा भणी meaning करवा माटे-काजे, अर्थे, सारं. In the rest, i.e. in (a), (b), (g), (k) and (m) भणी is united with a noun or pronoun. The sense of माटे in the latter group arises out of an objective case-relation between the noun and pronoun with भणी as a verb in the conjunctive participial form पुरुष भणी being originally equal to पुरुष भणीने, पुरुष कीन, ते भणी=ते भणीने, ते कहीने, i.e. पुरुष हु एम करीने, which meaning eventuates into the idea of causation, ते माटे=for that reason. In this connection भणी, as thus used, may be compared with the Marathi महून which bears the same causal sense, and which is the conjunctive participle of the root महू derived from this very Sanskrit root मण्. In the former group, which unites भणी with the infinitive participial form of the preceding verb, the sense is also माटे, काजे, अर्थे, सार, arrived at through a slight inter-

mediate step, करवा भणी=करते एवं भणीते, कहीने, मनमां कर्तीने, पारीने, this taking a natural thought turn and making it equivalent to करवाने माटे etc, though, correctly, it should be like करते भणी, where करते is the object of भणी. This is probably the result of a misapprehension, the eventual sense of भणी as माटे placing भणी in the same relation with the preceding word as माटे, though माटे, काजे, अप्ते are nouns in locative case connected with the preceding words in similar case concord ते माटे=हेने माटे etc, therefore करते भणी turned to करवा(ने) भणी, although भणी is not a noun in the locative case. (The case of साठ in करवा साठ, where साठ is adverbial, is similar in this respect to करवा भणी and would indicate the fact that भणी is not a noun in the locative case.)

A rather peculiar twist of meaning in this word, भणी, is found in a rare instance —

पाठ्ला भवना वद्वाण सेवन्य भणी गमे नदृ महात्मिर्द  
भरतारनो आँग यावानु दोदलड उपुतु।

(Somasundaram's Commentary on Dharmadatta's *Uraeta Mūla*, gathā 149, V S 1567, Tessitori's 'Notes,' p. 104.) The sense of भणी here is "in consequence of" सेवन्य भणी=सेवन्यने दीपे.

Tessitori 'Notes' § 71 (4), regards this भणी as a contraction of the locative singular of भणिषु (Ap. past participle of भण्) and therefore identical in origin with the "so called conjunctive participle." I should say that this भणी is nothing but the conjunctive participle originally and then used adverbially with the special turn of meaning.

As regards derivation from the locative of the past participle, I shall simply say that the error here is the same as in the case of the derivation of the conjunctive participle अरी(ने) type given by him (Notes § 131), I have already given my reasons for differing from him. (See *supra* p. 58, n. 27)

This use of भणी, viz. in the sense of माटे, causation is now obsolete, it is not noticeable outside the period marked by the instances given above. But भणी has another sense adverbially in which we find it used in old literature and the sense and use are

continued upto the present day, both in written literature and colloquial usage. This sense is "towards," तरफ, "in the direction of," e. g. घर भणी=in the direction of the house; शियाळ ताणे शीम भणी, ने कुन्हां ताणे गाम भणी (popular proverb). The instances from old literature are given by Tessitori at the end of § 71, 15, but at least two out of them are not apposite; thus चौह विद्या भणी bears the obvious meaning *having learnt the fourteen sciences*, and हित भणी is translated by himself as "for the benefit (of)." The instances in point are:—

- (a) चालिषु घन भणी (*Panchdhyāna*, 154);
- (b) आविषु तिंह भणी (*Ibid* 97);
- (c) ते तेदी अवजं तुस भणी (*Ibid*, 538);

This sense, "in the direction of," easily follows the original sense, "having said," through the several steps, "having said to himself," "having thought," i. e. "thinking" (करीते); घर भणी=घर छे एम करी ने; therefore, घर तरफ—in the direction of the house.

The use of भणी in this sense has a further development, viz. the addition of the genitive plus locative suffix to the word governed by भणी; e. g. घरनी भणी, just as is the case in घरनी पाते etc. This may lead one to regard घर भणी as a form where the नी suffix is dropped and to accept Tessitori's view that भणी is a locative form of the past participle भणिय-भणिय, the locative नी qualifying the locative भणिय. The instance given by Tessitori (§ 71, (4) last instance but one)—देसातरि भणि... चालिषु (P, 142)—would indicate this locative by the form देसातरि (locative of देसातर). But I am not prepared to accept this view. My reasons are:—

- (a) सारं, in the sense of माटे, governs the locative in a similar way, e. g. म्हारे सारं (for me), and yet सारं obviously is an indeclinable here, and not in the locative esse.

and (b) This usage of suffixing the locative नी (genitive plus locative) in the case of भणी is, I believe, the result of misapprehension based on the similarity with other terms, पासे, जोडे, माटे etc.: (घरनी पासे etc.). In other words, घर भणी is not obtained by dropping the नी in घरनी भणी, but घरनी

भणी is obtained by adding the नी under the influence of false analogy.

(13) जमलो (०लुं), meaning (a) standing near, united (b) equal.

Let us glance at the instances :—

(1) *Narainha Mehtā*, V. S. 1470 to 1586.

(a) हींदोळे हींचंता रुँ जमला<sup>78</sup> जास्वराय रे  
(*Hindold-hā-pada*, 18-1)

(b) काम कामधेणी चाली वहेणी, जमलां जीवन जेहिं रे  
(*Sringāra-mālā*, 259-2)

(c) जाणां जीवन जमली इंदां गमती गोडडी कारां रे  
(*Ibid*, 294-3)

(d) कामण कारां हुं मंदर जारं जाणां ते जमलां रहिए रे  
(*Ibid*, 270-2)

(e) जाणुं जमलां रहीए जीवन भूदरो झुंगी भावी रे  
(*Ibid*, 806-1)

(f) कामण तायां कीकी मादे, जीवन जमलां रहिये रे  
(*Ibid*, 807-1)

— (2) *Kānhadade-prolāndha*, V. S. 1512

(g) जमली लालि दीइ परथान  
(IV-130)

(3) *Dakama Skandha* by *Kesava*, V. S. 1529

(h) सतावन श्री भगवत् रूपक छे वेवीत ।  
सोल स्वर्यहृत संस्कृत जमली कथा जगरीत ॥  
(XL-127)

(4) *Hari-līlā* (by *Bhīma*), V. S. 1541.

(i) अलाल अमेल अदिवन् रुप, चेण्ह, प्रस्त, पंथ, अहृष्ण, ।  
तेइ कथानां लेर्द रुप मादिस सरोवर जमलु कप ॥  
(stanza 42)

78. The Gujarāti Press edition has रुँ ज, मळ्या—a reading which is wrong on the face of it. I have seen the correct reading in another Ms. collection.

(J) પડિત વોપદેવ દ્વિજ એનુ કીષુ દરિલોલા વિનેન ।  
તેણે આપારે મિ કરી યથા સરોવર જમલુ કૃત યથા ॥  
(વાલભુતિ, st. 1)

(5) *Vimala-prabandha*, V S 1561

(l.) ચદ જમલિ<sup>79</sup> જેદવી ચાંદળી

(V-82)

(6) *Bhramara-Gulā*, (by *Brahadeva*), V S 1609

(1) ઉદ્વ કહે આદ દુખ નાસો જમલે જાણો સરહરિ  
(II-4)

(m) જતી નહી જે દૂર પેસે જમલે થો જાણે નહી

(XVI-2)

(n) જન્મચંદ્ર જોગે જાણ જમલો નાય અદ્ગો કયમ ખસે  
(*Ibid* 8)

(o) પરહરો મોહ અગ્નાર, નિહાલો જમલો ધી ભગવાન

(XVI-pada *Sumeri rāga* ~2)

(p) દુરવે હરિને અસો ન ભાજતાં જીવન જમલાં અતિ વિરાજતાં  
(*Ibid*, XXXI, st. 1)

(7) *Nala Damayanti rāsa*, by *Naya sundara* (V S 1605)

(q) બંત હુર દાહારવ પણ સખ્લોદન સવિ જમલુ રણું

(V *dhala*, iii, st. 98)

(8) *Akho*, V S 1671 to 1731.

(r) જમલો<sup>80</sup> છે જોનો જગદીશ હું પદદંડો ને તે ઈંચ

(*Akho Chhappā*, *XXXVI*, *Āimā anga*, st. 2)

79 The editor, in his notes, renders જમલિ by the word પાસે (by the side of). This is very near the intended sense, though it misses the original sense and its connection.

80 Narmadāsankar, in his dictionary quotes these lines of *Akho*, and explains this word, જમલો as જુનલે, એકણ, કૃતુ મદ્દને, i.e. 'in all, altogether,' which is obviously wrong. The sense here is, 'Look ! the Lord of the world is with you, you the shadow and he the Lord i.e. you are shadow of God who is the substance.' Most probably Kavi Naramadāsankar has here been misled by the sense given in the glossary at the end of *Akhd Bhagata ni Vānt* edited by Kavi Hirachand Kanji in 1864 A. D.

Thus we find जमले in the sense of "united," "along with" and in such other shades of meaning, all arising out of the original meaning "twins" (Skr. यमल). The other sense, "equal to" is one following from the same original sense; I have come across only one instance of it, but can not lay my finger on it at present.

The periods covered by this word, जमले, range from Narasinha Mehta down to Akho; the word is, however, in frequent use upto about V. S. 1600, and seems then to have gradually become rarer till it is lost almost entirely after the middle of the eighteenth century (Vikrama's era).

(14) हेज़—हेत *affection*.

The present day word, हेत, is traceable to हेज from हय (Skr.), as I have already stated in a former lecture.<sup>81</sup> This older word is found from Narasinha Mehta down to the latter half of the seventeenth century, Vikrama era. Thus:—

Narasinha, (V. S. 1470 to 1526)

(a) तजुं अपशुं हेज

(*Chāturi chhatriśi*, XII, 8)

(b) हेज़ परीने आदया आपार जी

(*Ibid, ibid*, 9.)

*Ehdilapa* (V. S. 1500 and thereabouts).

(c) प्राणिमात्र विपित्र अति हेज

(*Kādarba ī pīrī abhdga*, VI—122)

*Kumudachandradevasūri-Rāsa*.

<sup>82</sup>(Beginning of the sixteenth century, Vikrama era)

(d) पिपनक बोलित गाढ़ हेज़ द्व मावड़ नहूं तुं भाणेज

("The Library Miscellany" of Baroda, II, 3-4; p. 113).

*Timala-prabandha*, V. S. 1568.

(e) साद करइ मामा मन हेजि

(IV-91)

81. See *supra* Vol. I of this work, p. 463.

82. This date is assigned to it by the late Chimanlal Dalsal; see the "Library Miscellany" of Baroda II, 3-4, p. 113.

*Nala-Damoyanti-Rāsa*, by Megharājā V. S. 1664

(f) સાજથાક રસોદું શીખી નઢ પાસે અતિ હેજે રે

(V-15)

15. સુજ in the sense of સુજને

This is only a representative word; for તુજ for તુજને, nay, અદ્ય for અદ્ધને and તુદ્ધ for તુદ્ધને, are also to be found, as will be seen from the instances given just below—

*Nala-Damoyanti-Rāsa* by Nayasundara, V. S. 1665.

સુજ

(a) રાજદંસ નબદૂત ચિરંજય તેં સુજ નિજશુણિ ક્રીતી  
(IV-ii-41)

(b) સુજ કિંકર જાણી અપણો  
(VI-57)

તુજ

(c) એદિલ તુજ વશિકરવા ભણી  
(V-iii-76)

(d) રાજન તુજ મિલવને લદી  
(VI-59)

(e) તપાણિ તુજ પૂર્ણ એ વાત  
(VI-187)

(f) તે ન થેટે તુજ ભીનકદુતે  
(VII-3)

(*Kāñhadade-prabandha*, V. S. 1512)

તુલ્લ

(g) તો એક કારજ કહિયે તુલ્લ  
(VI-61)

અલ્લ

(h) જુ અલ્લ આવી સાતલ મિટા  
(II-162)

(*Rūpachanda Kūvara-Rāja* by Nayasundara (V. S. 1687);—

તુમ

(i) સ્વામિ માદરે છે સ્વામિની તે તુમ તેદે ગમગામિની  
(IV-Chopdi 20)

(j) नृप कहे पूछी अबो काज, कहे ते तुम कहेने महाराज  
(*Ibid, Chopde 21*)

*Panchālhyāna*; V. S. 1556-1606; Tessitori's "Notes," p. 100.  
तुक्ष

समुद्रहत्ता मेलही न दूरि इं तुक्ष मिलवा आरित भूरि ॥३४३॥

Instances need not be multiplied. This usage is evidently of frequent occurrence in Jain writers during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Vikrama era. It has lingered on in occasional instances in non-Jain writers of a later period; e. g. Sūmala Bhatta has:—पाँच तुज भरथार (*Padmāvatī*, st. 48); V. S. 1774. तुज here stands for तुजने; तुजने भरथार तरीके मेवहुं being the sense; unless तुज be a mislection for तुं ज (thou only).

H. तुसे-सुसे (alternatives of तुसने-सुसने) may be compared with G. तुज-सुज (dative).

*Prima facie* the use of तुज, सुज for तुजने, सुजने would appear to fall under the Prākrit and Vedic practice<sup>83</sup> of substituting the genitive for the dative, and not a case of dropping the dative suffix ने owing to metrical exigency. But the case of अज and तुज for अजने and तुजने will present a difficulty; अज-तुज are not genitive forms (like सुज-तुज), but they are merely the base-formations before the application of the dative suffix, ने. I am loth to regard them as exceptions, and more inclined to regard them as an index revealing the true aspect of this idiom, viz. that these forms are but the result of lopping off the ने suffix to suit the requirements of metre. For this reason I put this feature under (D), the presence of special words &c., instead of under (B) *Psychological Changes*.

#### (16) रेसि as a dative appendage generally.

This word, mentioned by Hemachandra, as a तादृपूर्वाचिक suffix

(*Si. He. VIII-ii-125*) is found unchanged in

रेसि

as a dative suffix post-Apabhramsa literature upto the last quarter of the sixteenth century, but even as such it is of comparatively rare occurrence. The few instances I have come across are as under:—

83. See *Si. He. VIII-ii-131*—चतुर्थः पृष्ठी, and *Pāṇini* II-iii-69—चतुर्थपृष्ठं वहुलं उत्तरि [पृष्ठी र्यात् *Si. Kaumudi*.]

*Vasanta-Vilasa*, V. S. 1508.

(a) અમિત્વ પરિ શિણગાટિઅ નારીઅ રમઈ રેસિ ।  
ચંદન ભરદ કચોહીઅ ચોહીઅ મઢન રેસિ ॥

(St 13)

*Vimala-prabandha*—V S. 1568.

(b) મોઝલીઆ પરથાન આપણા વિષણ મનાવા રેસિ ॥  
(VIII-100)

*Môdhavânlâ-Kâma-Kandâlô dogdhala prabandha*. V. S 1574.

(c) કાલિજ કદસિ કૂરદા જ દૃદૃદૃ કરેસિ ।  
જ્યોતિ મ લંચિસિ દીપદા દુઅ રખું પીડેસિ ॥

(V-187)

(d) નિરખી નિમર્લ ચંદ્ર જગિડ અંચરેસિ ।

(VIII-38)

It will be noticed that in (c) રેસિ has the sense of "with" (perhaps derived from the sense "for" in a distant way) while in (d) it has a distinctly locative sense. As I have observed before (*supra* p 48) it may be that the original sense of રેસિ was being forgotten in later ages, or it may be that the poet took bold liberties with the word as regarded its sense, as suited his own purposes. It is difficult to state definitely what was the cause, or અચરેસિ may be a mislecture for અંચરેસિ.

What could be the derivation of રેસિ ? Dr Tessitori does not

*Its derivation* give this word in his "Notes" among the various words used for the dative case and

thus we can not help us here. I suggest a conjectural derivation. The conjecture is based on the indication supplied by the fact that રેસિ governed the genitive form in the Prâkrit e. g.

દર્ઢ સ્નિજદ્દ તડ કેંદ્ર પિઅ તુહુ પુજ અનાહ રેસિ ॥

(Illustration to *St. He* VIII-17-125)

Another indication is furnished by the fact that રેસિ (alternative રેસિ also given by Hemachandra) appears to be the locative form of some noun-word. I thus trace the word to રેપા (રેખા, the પ and

are interchanged as in तुपार, तुपार). रेति (°६) would be the Apabhramsa locative of रेपा (Skr.), Ap. रेता.<sup>54</sup> M. Williams in his Dictionary gives, as one of the meanings of रेता, “*abhogā, fulness, satisfaction.*” अन्तरेति would thus mean अन्यस्य तोपार्ये, for the satisfaction of another, i. e. “*for another.*” I leave this as a mere conjecture, with some foundation for it.

[The governing of the genitive by रेति is very often latent, thus, मंडन रेति stands for मंडनह रेति and मनावा रेति for मनावात् रेति.]

### 17. रहर as a dative or genitive appendage.

This word flourished vigorously during the *Mugdhalabodha Auktika* period and lasted upto the end of the sixteenth century of the Vikrami era in more or less frequency. The following instances will throw light:—

(1) *Mugdhalabodha Auktika*—V. S. 1450

(a) अन्द जेह रहइ दान दीजइ । तिदां संप्रशनि चतुर्थी ।

(P. 3, col. 1, l. 4 from the bottom)

(a)-1. अवर्णान्त शब्द रहिं ईकार हुइ ।

(P. 18, col. 1, l. 4 from the bottom)

(b) अवर्णस्येवर्णादिनैदोहरल् । अवर्णरहि इवणांदिकचउसिं  
कमि पत् ओत् अर् अल् हुइ ।

(P. 8, col. 1, l. 6 from the bottom)

84. The locative तः (४) is appended to words ending in आ; strictly रेताई would be the locative. But we can postulate the stop रेत before the termination is taken on. In Modern Gujarati माला becomes मळ (as well as माळ) बाला becomes बळ (as well as बाला), रेता becomes रेत (also रेखा), and this change may be conceived as occurring in older stages by way of anticipation, just as the front-ward shifting of इ prevailing in Modern Gujarati (e. g. मोरके गोहरे-पेहे and the like) is found in the early Prakrit stage by anticipatory process in पर् (Pr.) from गृह (Skr.); or as the principle of apheresis is anticipated in पृष्ठ and अपृष्ठ (Skr.) and earlier still in अर्गन्तम् (Lat.) and रजतम् (Skr.); and the processes found in several other *utsargas* which can be classed as सूक्ष्मानुभूति (see thesea Lectures Vol. I, p. 123).

And throughout the *Sandhi* chapter we find રહેં, રહા, or રહાં, in the sense of a genitive appendage in 29 places in all.

(2) *Vasanta-vilasa*, V. S. 1508.

(b)-1 વાંભ રહાં દવિચાર

(st. 72)

[The metre here would call for the contraction રહેં. I believe રહેં came into vogue by such contraction, called for by metre, or resulting from hurried pronunciation.]

(3) *Shadavatyala-bālārabodha* by Hema-hansa, about V. S. 1515 (for the date of his *Nyāya Manjushā*, is 1515 V. S.)

(c) દમવસરળિ બદ્વા વિદ્વામાણ છર તેદ હ્રૂદ નમો કાદીએ માદ્રા  
નમસ્કાર હુ ॥

(3)-(A)—*Soma-Sundara sūri's Commentary on Dharmadūsa's Uvāca-mālā* (gātbā 149)-V. S. 1567

- (c)-a જૌણુલી હદી ભણી તેદ =હ્રૂદું બીમં નામ કોણી ઇલિં પ્રસિદ્ધ હું
- (c)-b કોણી નહ્રૂદું રાજ્ય દેવા
- (c)-c એલોં વાનો દલ વિદ્વલ બેટોં હ્રૂદું આવિષ્યો
- (c)-d વાપ નહ્રૂદું નિત પાંચ પાંચ સાંદું નાદીએ મરાવદ
- (c)-e કોણી રાય ચિલ્લણા માય =હ્રૂદું કાદ
- (c)-f તાદ્રા વાપ નહ્રૂદું તું કષારિ એવદું સ્નેહ હુંતેડ
- (c)-g રખગાળ આવી બેળિક નહ્રૂદું કાદિલ
- (c)-h એ વલી કુણ =હ્રૂદું કદર્થના મારિસદ
- (c)-i કોણી રાય =હ્રૂદું મહાપથાતાપ હુડ

In this exuberant list (c)-b, (c)-e, (c)-d, (c)-f, (c)-b and (c)-i are instances of નહ્રૂદું as a dative suffix, (c)-a has નહ્રૂદું in the genitive or dative sense; (c)-g have it in the objective (through dative) sense.

(1) *Bhaktidīvara-bālārabodha*, V. S. 1577. (Ms. seen at the Baroda Central Library)

(c)-1 તે પ્રાણિયા રહેં દસ્તી વર્દ

(gloss on st. 44)

(c)-2 કમણ રહેં વિકાસ ઢાજિયા (?) કર્તૃ

(5) *Ardī Gīrā*<sup>85</sup> (Gujarāti translation) composed<sup>86</sup> before  
V. S. 1471.

(d) अनं जी पाय भोजन भर्तार रहां कीपतं

(41-5)

(e) तवस रहां देपाइं

(4-31)

(f) मह उत्तम रहां योग्यत (र) रहां भलाहुष्प रहां अनं  
वाणिज्य करणहार रहां अनं दुर्ज रहां प्रतिहृति  
प्रतिहार अनं मान्यता कीधी मानउ दीधउ

(25-5)

and at numerous other places

In some places रहा in this work takes the function of the  
accusative case e. g.

(g) गुण तेह चालर रहां न देपां

(40-8)

(h) पान्यतण घूलउ गाइ रहां लाद्वी दीपतं हृतु

(48-7)

(This (h) may equally well be regarded as a dative use.)

(i) तद रहां महागाष्ट लिं

(2-14)

85 The title of the work is *Virdf nāmā* also *Ardā Gīrā* means "Holy Virīg. The insertion of g and the elision of the final f is thus explained to me by my friend Mr. Behramgur T. Anklesaria Axtak, वृत्ति+क added to lengthen the final a derived from Avesta *areta* (Vedic रक्षी), *artā* being the adjective in Pahlavi from *areta*. This k was turned to g in the Sanskrit version and tacked on into the V of *Virdf*, thus the Pazend *Ardā Virdf*, becomes *Ardā Gīrā* in the Sanskrit version. The f was elided through confusion between *Virdf* and *Vira* (Persian)=a hero, but was retained in the alternative term *Virdf nāmā* (*Virdf nāmāk*, where the k represents an h).

86 See Mr. Maucherji P. Khareghli's Preface in the edition of this work published by the Parsi Panchayet pp vi, and vii, where it is stated that the copy in the possession of Mr. Behramgur Anklesaria was transcribed in V. S. 1507 (I have seen the colophon myself also) and a still earlier Ms. III, was transcribed in V. S. 1471,

## (j) વ્યાખ્યા તથા રહદ્દી ખારે (૦૮)

(2-15)

Mr. Khareghât notes (Preface, p. vi, last line) that in this *Dul* નાં *exist along* work ' the modern ને and its predecessors with નાં? Sir George નાં and નાં for the dative are entirely absent. *Grifferson's view* *discussed* This is very significant, as fixing a date for the work *perhaps* earlier than the *Mugdhâvabodha Auktika* I say *perhaps* because the નાં that is found in that *Auktika* gives the genitive plus locative formation and not the purely dative one, which though its origin is the genitive-locative combination, has an independent status of its own, and Sir George Grifferson appears to have misunderstood the passages wherefrom he quotes the instances of નાં as a purely dative suffix. I must quote him —

' Dative — *sukha naī* for bliss, — *jeha t astu naī parityâga sâchit*, for what flung abandonment is indicated.

In the following instance the dative is used for the accusative : *Kâra-na bolna* in giving the letter : \*?."

Now, as regards the first instance, *sulha naī* I must set forth the original passage fairly in full

“ જે નાં કારણ કિયા પર્તી દર્મ હુદ્દા । \* \* \* \* । તિદ્દા ઉપ્રદાને  
ચતુર્થી । \* \* - \* \* । ધારુ દુખનાં કારણ હુદ્દા । \* \* \* ।  
યિથાનાં કારણ પર્મ હુદ્દા । સુખનાં । તિદ્દા ચતુર્થી । ધર્મ  
સુખાય ભવતિ ।

The દુખનાં printed in black type by me here is the object of misunderstanding. Sir George thinks it an independent pure dative form meaning "for bliss," whereas, correctly understood, it stands for દુખનાંકારણ, the word કારણ being taken as an *adhyâdâra* from the previous sentence. The tenor of the whole

87. L S I Vol IX, Part II, p 355 Sir George held the same view six years before the year of publication of L S I Vol IX (1908 A. D.), for in JRAS, 1902, A. D., at p 541 he has these very observations. In fact, the article of 1902 A. D. is reproduced bodily in L S I, IX, II, pp. 353-364.

88. *Mugdhâvabodha Auktika*, p. 8, col. 3 carried over into col. 4.

discussion shows this to be the correct view. For the line of discussion is this —

"Dharma" makes for bliss (literally 'for the purpose of bliss') For the purpose of what does dharma act (lit become)? To this the answer is — (for the purpose of) bliss". The word कारणि is left unrepeated because it has just preceded, all the same it is required by way of *adhyāhara* any arrangement short of it would disturb the equation of ideas

Similarly कउणनह कारणि मोऽनह and किसानह कारणि मोऽनह in the same paragraph have कारणि as an *adhyāhara* after मोऽनह and मोऽनह.

The fact is that as early as the period of this *Auktika* the Sanskrit dative termination had lost its synthetic existence and कारणि or some such word following a genitive plus locative form had taken its place analytically thus सुखाए Skr = सुखनह कारणि (later Ap) = सुखने माई (Modern Gujarati). In the case of verbs meaning to give a pure dative was expected and for this the word used was रहइ, not नह in those days thus we have जेह रहइ दान दोजइ (p 3, col 1 1 4 from the bottom) and not जेह नह yet

[During later periods रहइ and नह are found side by side though the latter is rare and in a slightly restricted sense

Thus —

चाप रहइ नित पैच पैच सइ नाढीए मरावइ ।  
इहिर कोणी राय नह बेटउ जायु छइ ।

(Soma snandasuri's Commentary on Dharmadasa's *Uraesa*  
mala gatha 149 V S 1567) ]

The third instance : *kiraṇai bolīvai*<sup>89</sup> is also incorrectly understood<sup>90</sup> इकारणइ is a genitive locative combination adjectival in function, qualifying बोलियइ which is the locative of the verbal noun from the root बोल् the expression meaning in the speaking of the sound i.e. when we speak words etc at the end (as expressing place time etc).

The second instance is somewhat doubtful<sup>91</sup> वस्तु नह परित्याग is hardly the proper idiom नह as dative even would not be

89. *Mugdhabodha Auktika*, p 4, col 2, 1 2

90. *Ibid*, p 8 col 2, 1 from the bottom

appropriate here and I should not be surprised if the correct reading was વસ્તુના (of a thing).

I may, therefore safely conclude that રહા (રહેં) flourished without any rival termination like નહા (નહેં) during the *Mugdhabodha* period, and *Aḍḍa Gīrā* may be assigned to that period approximately.

Of the two senses of રહા, dative and genitive, which was the primary one and which secondary ? Dr. Tessitori regards the dative sense as the primary one.<sup>91</sup> Sir George Grierson inverts the order and regards the genitive sense as the primary one.<sup>92</sup>

The original nature of રહા, its derivations  
Sir George Grierson inverts the order and regards the genitive sense as the primary one.<sup>93</sup> Mr. M. P. Kharegbat takes the opposite view, regarding dative as the primary sense and says —<sup>94</sup> "Even in the cases quoted by Grierson from the *Mugdhabodha* રહા can be rendered by the dative યાદે". The question can be easily settled by considering the derivation of રહા. Several derivations are in the field.—

- (a) રહા deriveable from રેસિ
- (b) રહા traced to રધિત
- (c) રહા traced from અરહાર which is traced backwards to
  - (1) અર્થાન or અર્પકે
  - (2) locative of અરદા (adj) meaning "near, lying on this side" from Skr *apāra*, through Ap. *arāra* *ora*-ef Guj *oro*, *odo*, Sindhi *oraho*, *odo*.

To examine the relative merits of these four suggestions, first of all I take

- (a) રેસિ. I suggested this derivation in an article in the

91 "Notes" § 71, (6), and § 73, (7)

92. L S I Vol IX, Part II, p. 355, where under *dative* he says. "After a verb of giving the genitive termination *raha* is used to indicate the dative," whereas for the genitive he gives *rahat* and *rahi* as the suffixes used in the *Mugdhabodha*

93 His Preface to the *Gnyarati* version in *Aḍḍa Gīrā* (collected Sanskrit writings of the Pāṇis, Part V) pp. xi-xii note 16.

"*Vasanta*" (a Gujarati magazine) some years ago,<sup>94</sup> only in the form of a question. The points in favour of this derivation are —

- (1) रेसि is given by Hemachandra (VIII-17-425) and रहै द्र रहै in not found in his time; it (रहै) is found in full swing in the *Mugdhārabodha Auktika* (V. S. 1450).— रहै must therefore have arisen in the intervening three centuries, and, no other word being found, रहै must have evolved out of रेसि.
- (2) ए can easily change to ई. The fact that *Vasantavilāsa* (V. S. 1508) has रेसि (st. 14) as well as रहै (st. 72) may not necessarily militate against this derivation. Sneh co-existence of parents and derived words is not unusual.
- (b) रक्षित—This derivation is laid down by Rao Bahadur K. H. Dhurta without assigning any specific reasons.<sup>95</sup> The only consideration he advances is that रक्षित is one of the words coming as the latter member of a चतुर्पांतस्त्रुद्रम् *samskara*.

I am afraid this is a very weak consideration. गोरक्षित would mean 'kept for cows', but how this position of रक्षित would transfer the dative sense to the suffix is not understood. Besides, रहै cannot be traced to रक्षित very successfully from the point of view of phonetics, though रक्षितम्, रक्षितम्, रक्षित्, रहै are possible steps. But the final *anusvāra* on रहै suggests a locative or instrumental sense in the word itself and this is missed in this derivation.

(c)—(1) and (2). These are suggested by Dr Tessitori,<sup>96</sup> and after some discussion he has rejected (1) in favour of (2). He seems to have adhered to (2) finally.<sup>97</sup>

94. Vide the number for *Kārtika* V. S. 1970, p. 554, note §

95. Vide his Notes (p. 270, II 4-6) to Bhāskara's *Kādambara*, *purva bhāga*.

96. Vide his article on "The origin of the Dative and Genitive Post positions in Gujarati and Maravādi" JRAS, 1913 A. D., pp. 564-5.

97. Vide his "Notes", § 71, (6), which were written after the above article, and where he offers only (2) and makes no mention at all of (1).

I have no hesitation in preferring (1) and of the two alternatives, the locative અંધકે as the best and most probable derivation of રહદેં. It satisfies all the conditions, the locative sense in expressions like તેદ રહદેં (તસ્ય અંધે), and easy phonetic evolution, અંધકે-અરથદ-અરહદ-રહદેં.

No. (2) is far fetched and does not satisfactorily bring out the sense of તાદ્યર્થ ("for" ness) which is the essential meaning of રહદેં. Thus I am inclined to accept અંધકે as the origin of રહદેં, if રોંસિં is regarded as less probable.

Thus the dative sense fits in best with the derivation of રહદેં, તેદ રહદેં=તસ્ય અંધે, for his benefit, for him and therefore the dative is the primary sense. The genitive sense is easily obtainable by a slight thought turn. It is not the same thing as the use of the genitive for the dative in Vedio and Prakrit usage, where it is a mere substitution without reference to the sense of the termination as in the case of રહદેં.

This<sup>98</sup> concludes my examination of the final test (D), viz distinctive words marking particular periods

98 The seventeen distinctive expressions do not supply an exhaustive list, they are the prominent features useful for our purpose. There may be minor features not included in the above examination. I may note one such, as being of special interest, it is the use of કે—કે in compound sentences to suggest alternatives, as in the English idiom which uses "either—or". Such use is not known to modern Gujarati literature. I give some instances

(a) કે આ વન ઉંડી જા પરો કે યુદ્ધ કરવા સર્જ થા ખરો

*Nala-Damayanti Rasa* by Naya sundara I-II-44 (V S 1665)

(b) દીયા ભીતરિ દર બલે ખૂદા ન પરંગા દોય

કે હુ જાણું રે સલિ કે જિણિ લાયા સોય

(*Ibid*, V, duhd 3 at p 227 of *Ananda Kavya Maholadhi* Vol VI)

(c) સોતુ મન ને લેવિ વસ્તુ નાલ્ય ન રાક ઢાપે ને અસ્ત

કે તુટે કે અટે ન આદય અલા દરિ અંધે હદિંદુ કાદય

(*Akho, Chhappd, Pratilis A, ga*, st. 5 S 1671 to 1731 )

This કે—કે, confined evidently to the latter half of the seventeenth century and the first quarter of the eighteenth, has a small range of time, and is now supplanted by કો—કા or કા તો—કા તો (e.g. કા જીબતુ

Applying all these tests to the whole range of literature passed under survey by me above, I am inclined to adopt the same division of periods which I indicated in my Presidential Address at the *Fifth Gujarati Sahitya Parishad* in 1915 A. D.<sup>99</sup> These are :—

1. *Apabhramsa*—upto V. S. 950;
2. *Middle-Apabhramsa*.—upto the thirteenth century of Vikrama era;
3. *Antima or Gurjara Apabhramsa*  
(=Dr. Tesserori's  
*Old Western Ra-  
jasthani*") } V. S. thirteenth century to V. S.  
1350;
4. *Early Gujarati*—V. S. 1350 to V. S. 1650;
5. *Middle-Gujarati*—V. S. 1650 to 1750;
6. *Modern-Gujarati*—V. S. 1750 and after.

I need not say that these divisions are not intended to be water-tight compartments. By its very nature, language must shade off by degrees from one period into another. On the other hand, I am not one of those who, under misguided devotion to their mother-tongue, contend that Gujarati language began as early as Hemachandra. A mere glance at the specimens of the early periods will show us that it would be preposterous to give the name of Gujarati to the language of those stages. At that rate one may go further back and claim that the early Prâkrits,

કૃ માણું, or કૃ તો જીવનું કૃ તો માણું). This કૃ is traceable to the Apabhramsa form કાં from Shr. કિં. The form કે (=or) is a variant of કૃ in a way; કે (કથ્થિવાદી) =કેમ? belongs also to the same group, all coming from કિં (Shr.). Bearing all this in mind we can at once reject as erroneous the use of માણું (કરણું=where) in the form કૃ તો—કૃ તો, which Sûrat and Breach people employ under a misapprehension, because with them કરણું is કરણાં and a desire for correct speech misleads them into turning કૃ (કિં) to કરણું (where).

99. See the Address, p. 28, embodied in the Report of the *Fifth Gujarati Sahitya Parishad*.

SUPPLEMENT TO LECTURE V,  
SECTION I

(I) Page 9 last para.

**Gurjara Apabhramśa.**

My attention is just drawn to a paper on "*Gujarātī bhāshādāna janma*" (1905 A. D., published in 1908 A. D.) written by the thoughtful Parsi scholar, Pahlanji Barjorji Desai, where in at p. 8 he speaks of गौरजरी (*Gaurjari*) as identical with modern Gujarātī. It is obvious that the learned writer has ignored the difference between the *Gaurjari* mentioned by Mārkandeya and modern Gujarātī, not having noticed the important stages of evolution between the two. For Mārkandeya (1450 A. D.=1506 V. S.) must have seen the language of the *Varantavīlāsa* and *Kāñchade-prabandha* s'age, far removed from our present day Gujarātī.

It seems that Barjorji Desai has followed Sir George Grierson, who calls *Gaurjari* a dialect of *Nāgara Apabhramśa* and parent of Modern Gujarātī in his chapter on Language in the *Census of India Report* (Vol. I, Pt. I, Chap. VII, § 503, p. 305), and in an article on the *Mugdhabodha māktikā* (sic. *Auktikā*) in J R A S, 1902, p. 587 (reproduced bodily in L S I, Vol. IX, part II, pp. 858-864) he speaks of Hemachandra's *Apabhramśa* as *Gaurjara Apabhramśa* (on what authority, it is hard to conjecture), and who yet in his main treatment calls it *Nāgara Apabhramśa* (p. 327, L S I, Vol. IX, pt. II); and all this in spite of the fact that Hemachandra does not use the name *Nāgara* or *Gaurjara Apabhramśa*.

II P. 17, n.

At the end add—

Dr. Fleet's editorial foot-note runs as under:—"A curious instance of this carelessness stares one in the face on the very title-page where the name of the work is given in Roman character as "Mugdhāvabodha Auktikā" but in Devanāgarī character as "Mogdhāvabodha māktikā,"

The latter form occurs also at the end of the work, while three lines above there is again "Auktika" As the title-page declares this book to be "prathamam muktikam," the real name seems to be *Mugdhatabodhamauktika*"

To show the error of the conclusion arrived at by Dr Fleet here, it will be enough to point out

- (a) that the name in Devanagari characters on the title-page (मुग्धताबोधमौक्तिकम्) means मुग्धाबोधम्+ओक्तिकम्; the first part meaning मुग्धानामुवचोधो यत् (a bahu utthi samāsa),
- (b) that the same form in Devanagari at the end of the work is explainable similarly
- (c) that the word ओक्तिकृ occurring three lines above the end is part of a metrical line which runs thus —  
ओक्तिकृ दपित मुग्धद्वते श्री—

and (a) that प्रथमौक्तिकृ is but H. H. Dhruva's own expression to show that this *Auktika* was the first "pearl" in the *Prachina Gujarati Sahitya-ratna māla* contemplated by him

III. Pp. 32-33.

पुहुच्चइ

Again Hemachandra has प्रभौ दृष्ट्यो वा ॥ ८-४-६३ ॥ प्रसुरुद्धस्य  
भुवो हुण इत्यादेशो वा भवति ॥ प्रसुतं च प्रपूर्वंपैवाप्य । अंगेषिभ न पहुच्यद ।  
पहु ये पमयेऽ ॥

This, I believe, is really a mistake similar to that in the case of मुव पयांस्तो हुच्चय (VIII-17-390). पहुत (from प्राप्त Shr) evidently yielded पहुच्य as well as पहुच्च, ते evolving into य्य under *Utsarga* VI of class C (vide Vol I of these Lectures pp 337-340).

Sl. No. VIII-17-416 illustration 1 has जमद एण्णे पहुच्चइ दूधदृढ. Here also प्राप्त fits well into the meaning. Hemachandra renders पहुत by प्राप्त in his gloss in *Kumārapāla charita* II, 91 and VIII, 15. This is very significant in favour of my view.

*Gauda raho* has पहुच्य in the sense of पयांस्ति in several places;  
अगाहै विष्णुणो वामणत्तेऽग्निसमाप्त एवार्थ ।  
मददोये-ण पहुच्यन्त-मुवण-भरिभाई व जयन्ति ॥ ११ ॥.

## THE DATE OF LAKSHMIDHARA.



At p 133 of this volume I have stated that Lakshmidhara flourished in the middle of the sixteenth century. I placed undoubting reliance on the conclusion arrived at by K. P. Trivedi in his Introduction to the *पद्मापादनिदिका*. I regret this. For a mere examination of the reasoning employed by K. P. Trivedi would have shown me the unsoundness of it. This is his reasoning:

"Lakshmidhara has based his work upon that of Trivikrama and both are quoted in the *Ratnāpana* by Kamarasvāmin, son of Mallinātha. Mallinātha flourished in the sixteenth century, for one of his verses occurs in an inscription of A D 1532. This makes Lakshmidhara a contemporary of Mallinātha. (Introduction p 17)

This line of reasoning is obviously faulty. The fact of being quoted by Mallinātha's son may show Lakshmidhara to be anterior to the son, or even to Mallinātha. But even if Mallinātha and Lakshmidhara were contemporaries, the date for Mallinātha cannot depend on his being quoted in 1532. Any one can quote a person who may be centuries anterior.

As a matter of fact, however, the date of Mallinātha is shown to demonstration to be the thirteenth century A D. Mahel Duff, p. 189, says—

"V S 1298 Birth of Narshari, son of Mallināth, and commentator, under the name of Sarasvatitirtha, of the *Kāvya Prakāśa*" And the reference given is P R 1-25, i.e. Peter's first Report

on Sanskrit *Mes*, p. 25. Peterson gives there a full account of Narahari's parentage, as given in his commentary of the *Kaṭya-*  
*prakasa* Rameśvarī of the Vatsa *gotra*, his son being Narasinha-  
bhatta, who was father of Mallinātha, the father of Narahari. His  
(i.e. Narahari's) birth-date is thus indicated

स व दु प्रह दृस्तेन प्रदृष्टा समलंकृते ।  
 ८ ९ १  
 काठे न रहेर्जन्म कस्य नातीन्मनोरमम् ॥

(The figures are marked by me)

Thus V. S. 1298=A. D. 1242 is the year when Narahari was born. Mallinātha must therefore be twenty five to thirty years of age at the time. He must have flourished thus by the middle of the thirteenth century. Lakshmidhara must consequently be assigned to at least a few years before 1242 A. D. I would therefore alter the middle of the sixteenth century to the first quarter of the thirteenth century. Thus the span between Hemachandra and Lakshmidhara would be about a century. For, according to Śāstri Vrajālal Kālidās in his *Gujardī Bhdādī no-Itihāsa*, p. 40, Hemachandra wrote his grammar of Apabhramsa in V. S. 1168 (A. D. 1112).

कंठेचिय परिघोल् पुणरुत्तं पद्धरि साउ लक्ष दिया ।  
अपहृप्पन्ति व्व महं वाया पहुणो पंसाद् ॥ ८४७ ॥

The commentator renders ए पहृप्पन्ति in st. 16 by अप्यांस, and अपहृप्पन्ती in st. 847 by अप्रभवन्ती. Evidently he is occasionally obsessed by the error of regarding पहृप्प as derived from प्रभृ. In st. 464 the commentator adopts the rendering पर्यांस. In st. 69 the commentator is evidently wrong in rendering पहृमह विजय पउत्ता वाया as मधुमध विजयाल्ये मतस्तव्ये पर्यांसा वाह, for पउत्ता here is not पहृत्ता, and obviously stands for प्रट्ता.

The *Gauda-vaho* is assigned to 700-725 A. D. by S. P. Pandit (see p. c of his Introduction). The time of the commentary is not known (p. v of S. P. Pandit's *Critical Notice*), but it is evident that he flourished long after Hemachandra. It is therefore safe to conclude that पहृप्प was in vogue in the seventh and eighth centuries A. D. and पहृच्च long before Hemachandra, but their true origin was mistaken by Hemachandra and the mistake continued unnoticed down the centuries after Hemachandra.

From all these cumulative data we may conclude incidentally that (a) the प्रेषण (interpolation) of इ and (b) the formation of the root-stem from the चान्त forms of Prakrit were anterior to Hemachandra.

As regards (b) *Si. He.* VIII-iv-230 (शकादीनों द्वित्तम्), which notes सक्ष लग्द, लक्ष and the like, really marks this reverse process of forming roots from the चान्त forms.

*Shabdasha-Chandrakā* III-ii-58 has पर्यांसौ सुवो वहृच्च; no illustration is given. The same work gives विच्च for Hemachandra's विच्च (Skr. वर्त्मन्); it seems that the author, Lakehmidhara (who flourished in the middle of the sixteenth century), has aspirated the च in both and softened the ष of पहृच्च to च. He also shares with Hemachandra the error of regarding भृ as the source of पहृच्च-पहृच्च.

#### IV. P. 38.

After line 4 add:—

तिगद् at p. 121, l. 5 for तिनि is a similar lapse on the scribe's part.

## V. P. 48.

*Noticeable Points;* (2). Add:—

or અંવરેસિ may be a mislection for અંવરેસિ.

## VI. P. 56 and n.

(a) It is noteworthy that while ચોટાંઠે, rural usage in Surat District, is ચોટાંઠે in classical usage, the negative in the latter adopts the present participle and not the <sup>o</sup>તિ form: thus we all say ચોલને નથી and not ચોલે નથી.

(2) કરતો (=કરીત અદે) comes from કર્ણતર (Pr.)-કુર્વતઃ (Skr.). It is remarkable that this form in the અદે ending is an exception to the general rule in Marāthi which evolves the આ ending from અઠ; (e. g. ઘોરા M. ઘોડત Ap., ઘોટક: Skr. (see vol. I of theseo Lectures, P. 215). This exception is in noteworthy contrast with Hindi which retains the અઠ throughout; thos:—કરતા હે.

(o) Sioldhi (કોર્પે) also has exhausted the potency of કરે, but added, not અદે (S. for કે G.), but પો (=સિપતઃ Skr.). Kannarese has મಾಡುસಾನे (મಾಡು=to do), મಾಡುತ (pres. part.) આನે (termination for third person singular, masculine), feminine મಾಡುತ್ತಾಂ, neuter મಾಡುತ್ತದೆ. What is ભાને, (ભાદે, અદે) ?; they could not be from હಾ (Kan.)=to be. Like the Skr. તિ, તિ, પિ, theymust be synthetic terminations from old words in an analytic stage. Yet, the gender variation (ભાને, ભાદે, અદે) would point to a distinction and some adjectival formation.

## VII. P. 56. note.

After (4) add:—

(5) ઉદ્ય તત્ યધાકારમનેદ્યો દ્વિપર્વત્વરાઃ ॥

*Nalopâkhyâna* (in the *Mehâbbârata*) IV, 42.

## VIII. P. 74.

(a) To the instances of Sanskrit-like passive concord add:—

(8) તું મોકલિયોછે સુજ નાયિ

(*Nala Damayanti-Râsa* by Nâya Snedara V-III-51)

(9) પ્રિપવરનિ ! તું તારો કાસ

મોકલિયોછે મટમારાસ,

. (*Ibid.* V-III-57)

(10) सा कन्याए हुं पूछियो

(*Ibid*, II-1-14)

(11) हुं भणाव्योहुं भूरे

— (*Abhimanyu-ālkyāna*, by Premānanda, V. S. 1727)

(12) पूरव पुण्य पत्ताते मे पास्यो तुं कांत

(*Rupachanda-kuvara Rasa*, by Nayasundara, IV, *duhā* between *chopās* 17 and 18)

(13) पहिल राइ हुं अवगणित

(*Kānhadade-prabandha*, I-25)

(14) ए चेतुराई शीखी रिहां

(*Nala-Damayati Rasa* by Nayasundara VI-178)

NOTES —

I. In instance (9), हुं मोक्षियोहे is a curious advance on the correct concord हुं मोक्षियोहुं. It is perhaps a stepping stone to the modern idiom (म्हने मोरस्योहे) unless it is a mislection for हुं.

II. Instance (14).—Dawayantī says to Nala ए चतुराई रहमे कर्ता शीखी' where रहमे is in the instrumental case, which is equal to modern रहमे कर्ता शीख्या where रहमे is in the nominative case. Thus instance is to be distinguished from the others. For, in (14) शीखी is passive, but in modern idiom (रहमे शीख्या) शीख्या would be active (=शिखितवान् Skr.), taking शिख्यु=to teach, (Vedic), the subject in the nominative and the object in the accusative (without any termination), while in instance (13) modernized into राये म्हने अवगण्यो, the verb remains in the passive form the subject in the agentive (राये) and the object in the objective with the ने termination, and yet preserving its concord in gender and number with the passive participle (see remark at p. 75 *supra* on हुं सत्य पास्यो)

(b) In Gujarāti the participle in नार (°अनकार, °अणहार, °अनभार °नार) is used sometimes as a finite future tense e.g. ए धेर जनाएँ. This is psychologically akin to the Skr.

future in રૂચ, ગન્તા=will go, though etymologically the two are different.

IX. P. 88. Before the last para—Add :—

There is another instance of shifting from the synthetic to the analytic formation in modern Gujarati. લખવામાં આવેઠે represents a periphrastic passive formation, obviously analytic. The help word here is the root આવું=to come, in contrast with યા, યાં=go. Marathi also has કાયાંત યेतે.

X P. 94, last para but one; add

સિંદું appears occasionally even at a later period : કામિનિ સિંદું ક્રીદા કરદું.

(Mādhavarānala-Kāmalāndalā-dogdhola-prabandha,

p. 112, l. 2 in the Ms.; V. S. 1574).

XI P. 97. I find a rare instance of એણું=while in an early century work:—

કરદ તે [ ઇ ] માણસસિંદું વાત

(Panchākhyāna, 351)

V. S. 1556-1606, Tessitori "Notes" p. 103.

Here the context shows that માણસસિંદું means માણસજેવી not માણ સાથે; though the neuter gender of સિંદું (not agreeing with the feminine gender of વાત) would show that એણું is used adverbially in the sense of માણસની પેઠ.

XII. P. 98. After (e) and remarks thereon, add:—

(f) તે ભારી પેચીનં સુતાર રદ પરે આદ્યો ॥

(Panchākhyāna Vārīka, edited by Dr. Johannes Hertel; Story VIII, p. 16, ll. 10-11.)

(g) આજરી રાતં પર દલ ન ખાંચું

(Ibid, ibid, p. 17, l. 21).

The work ends with the copyist's colophon which gives Samvat 1730 as the date, evidently of copying the work, which appears to have been composed in the sixteenth or seventeenth century of the Vikram era; the word રોગાન (=varnish) at p. 16, l. 4-5 from the bottom, which is Persian, incidentally closes a fairly late period.

(Note:—At p. 93, (D)—(b),—દ is a misprint for ત).

XIII. P. 100. Under (6) क genitive termination add:—  
रयणकी खनी

(*Nala-Damayanti-Rāja*, by Nayasnndara; II-i-9.)

XIV. P. 101. Before (8) हृतुं—add:—

This च termination appears in Rājasthāni *Dingala* literature, in spite of the generally used termination र. Thus *Veli Kisana Rukamāṇi* रि (V. S. 1637 or 1638 according to different MSS.) by Prithirāj Rāthanda, presents the च termination in the following among other, instances:—

(a) कुण जाणे सँगि हुआ केतला देसदेस चा देसपति ॥

St. 87.

(b) चालकति किति हंस चौ चालक ॥

St. 12.

(c) एकान्ति वचित क्षीदा चौ आरँभ ॥

St. 178.

(d) सगपण ची सनसि रकमणि सनिपि ॥

St. 183.

XV. P. 105. Under पञ्च add:—

जोतां शकां

(*Panchālhyāna Vārtika*, p. 16, l. 7; edited by Dr. Johannes Hertel.)

XVI. P. 106 पार्हि=than.

Before (a) पतः:—

आकास पांहइ अष्टरु तेजवंत अउइ

(*Arḍā-Grīḍ*, 56. 17; date of copy V. S. 1471).

also add:—पार्हि=than is found in *Mādharānala-Kāmalandalā doṣdhali*-prabandha (V. S. 1574); p. 112, l. 2 in Ms.

XVII. P. 112. Under भणी add:—

(n) जीर्ण पडवा भी भणी

(*Bhālana's Kādambari*, p. 16, l. 11).

(o) भागी भणी तेहनी मीटि न चढिउ

— (p) ઘન નવિ હરચદ્ર લોની ભણી  
 (Vimala-prabandha, III-74)

(q) રાતી દિવસ રલંઘ પર ભણી  
 (Ibid, III-12)

(r) તવ વેતાલ કહે સરા ભણી  
 વાત કદ્દો વિક્રમ તેદ તણી !  
 (Vaitala-pancharisi, st. 175).

માદે is similarly used:—

મિત્ર માટ્દિ.....એમની વાત કઢી.

(Panchâthyañna-Vârtika, p. 16, l. 11, edited  
 by Dr. Johannes Uertel).

મિત્ર દતો, માટે is the sense.

XVIII. P. 112, last para; l. 3; before "In the rest" add—

In (e).—1 ભણી is preceded by an independent sentence, આંગુલી રૂપી and connects it with the subsequent sentence.

XIX. P. 115. Under જમલો, after (g) add:—

(g)—a.

સ્નાન દાન દેહરાસર કરી જમલિ રહી સરિ અંતેડરી ॥  
 (IV-208)

(g)—b.

જમલી રહી કરાવિદ દાદ  
 (III-210)

(g)—c

ન કો અંગરસ જમલુ રહા  
 (I-24)

(g)—d.

એમટ તેદ્યા જમલા

(Premânanda; Olkâharâna; XXV-2.)

(g)—e.

ઘણ્ય ઘણ્ય જે જમલો શુદ્ધાર

(Trikamadâsi; Paratâ-prachârî; V. S. 1790-1855)

XX. P. 119, l. 11, after the sentence "તુન here stands for  
 તુનને," &c., add:

Similarly शुन for शुजने is found in Premānanda:  
कृष्णे रे ज्यारे मुज तरछोऽप्यो त्यारे परवा मनोरथ टाला रे ॥

(*Nādī Dhramara-Gītā*, in *Prāchīna Kātyayasudhā*. Part I, p. 11; edited by Mr. Chhaganlāl V. Rāvalā.)

Also Sūmīla Bhaṭṭa has a similar idiom in

मुज परणावी परवरो

(*Padmāvatī-ni Vārī*; st. 361).

#### NOTE.

##### (A)

P. 72 and p. 89. The passive form in आए. My view that ए (traceable to या=to go), and not the आ in this formation, is the element which functions the passive sense, has to face one or two serious objections: We find forms like बोलाइ, कराइ and the like in works<sup>1</sup> as far back as the sixteenth century of the Vikrama era; whereas the substitution of आए for इयह is stated by Dr. Tessitori and myself as marking the period distinctive of Gujarāti proper. Again, it may be fairly contended, the ए in बोलाइ really represents the ए of the present tense, third person singular, and this ए turns into ए by *prati-samprasāraṇa* and give us the modern form बोलाय; thus there is no place here for या=to go as the source of the ए in the passive form.

I believe I can answer these objections. First then, this old form बोलाइ is comparatively rare in the earlier works. Then, I trace the form बोलाय through the following series:

बोलायह [बोलाइह], बोलाई, बोलाइ, बोलाय.

For, just as, on the one hand, we have बोलीयह [बोलीइह], बोलीई (ए turning to इ by *prasāraṇa*), so, on the other, we have बोलायह, [बोलाइह] बोलाई, बोलाइ, बोलाय (ए turning into इ in the second step, and इ again into ए in the 'insty'; the इ before ए in the first series as well as the आ in the second being the *āgama*, and ए the

1. For instance:—

तिणि अपसरि गजधर राहू सारंगदे नामि बोलाइ।

(*Kāñhadade-prabandha*, I—13.)

V. S. 1512.

representative of the passive forming એ=to go. When કોલિયા, in turning into કોલિયે, gave up its passive third personal sense and became the first personal plural present tense form, the language gave up this form for the passive use, and adopted the form with the *Agama* અણ viz: કોલાય. This vindication of my view has a further support in the fact that it satisfies the consistency of the whole chain (1) to (9) given at p. 88 *supra*.

Pages 72 and 73; before the last para;

Add:—It will be noticed that in the case of the roots ending in vowels (આ, ઇ, એ, ઓ) there is the *dgama*, એ, (necessitated by the facility of pronunciation) before the અણ suffix, in present day Gujarati in Gujarat proper, and that in the form current in N. Gujarāt given above the એ *dgama* is over and above the એ *bgama*.

### (B)

P. 88. Number (8) in the chain of passive forms.

I. ("કરીયદ Ap." should be omitted.)

II. કરિયજ્જ (Pr.) કરિયદ (Post-Ap.)

I believe the steps between these two are કરીયજ્જ, કરીયદ. If so, are we right in calling the એ preceding the એ in the form કરિયદ an *dgama*? For, it appears but a mere shortening of the એ in the second step. However, the original એ in કરિયજ્જ was undoubtedly an *dgama* as also in શિષ્યત (Skr.) and so we are not quite wrong in calling the એ in the last stage also an *dgama*.

Dr. Tessitori, "Notes", §, 136, holds the same view in the matter of the relation between દ્વર્જન and દ્વય. The only point on which I differ from him is the view that the જ was turned into એ because it was a mere clerical substitution, a view which I cannot share.



## LECTURE V

*History of the Gujarātī Language*  
*Its Evolution (continued)*

## ( SECTION II )

*Gujarātī case terminations, their derivation* In the course of the foregoing discussions in the first section of this Lecture I have dealt with the several case terminations in the Gujarātī in an incidental way only. I should now enter upon a specific examination of these terminations especially with regard to their derivation. First take the nominative. To all external appearances there is no indicative termination for this case, and we may accept that situation as final. However, I may remind you of what I have said before<sup>1</sup> regarding nouns and adjectives ending in એ. I have said that the એંડો type is really the form of nominative singular and it is by a constant habit, as it were, that it has taken the place of a base word. The same remark will hold good for words ending in એ, પાંડ, સાંધ and the like, *mutatis mutandis*.

As the nominative singular form is, generally, the recognised base in Gujarātī, it will be convenient here to touch this point before examining the other case-terminations with reference to their origin. It may be noted that sometimes the Sanskrit nominative singular and sometimes the Gujarātī nominative singular and again sometimes the Sanskrit base-word, takes the position of base in Gujarātī. Thus એંડો (Gujarātī nominative singular) રાજા (Skr nominative singular), and ઇંડ (Skr. base word), represent the base in Gujarātī. The following tabulated arrangement will show the state of things at a glance —

## As the Base-word.

Guj. Nom Sing.	Skr Nom Sing	Skr base word
એંડો	રાજા	ઇંડ
દાખ	મગધાન्	હર

1 See Vol. 1 of these Lecture, p 216, last para

Guj. Nom. Sing.	Skr. Nom. Sing.	Skr. base-word.
ચન્દ્રસા	जગત्	માતૃ
યશ	યત્તી	
પાદં	पિતા	
	મતા (fem.)	
	કર્તા	

It will be seen that Gujarātī idiom will not admit of રાજન् or ચન્દ્રમસ્ or યશસ્ as the base, and formations like અત્તમનુની &c., are unacceptable to correct Gujarātī.

The oblique form for these base-words is to be found only in the case of ઘોડો and પાદં types only, which change the final vowel to આ (ઘોડાં, પાનાં etc.), the other words remain unaltered before the oblique case-terminations. I have already explained the reason of the આ change in oblique cases.<sup>2</sup>

[An interesting contrast between the oblique form in Gujarātī and that in Marātīhi is noticeable. While Gujarātī turns the stem ઓ to આ in oblique cases and preserves the ઓ stem unaltered, Marātīhi turns the stem—અ to આ and the stem આ is altered to યા. Thus:—

Gujarātī	Oblique	Marātīhi	Oblique.
સૌંદિર	ઘોડા (એ-ને-ઘોડાં)	ઘોડા	ઘોડ્યાસ
ઘોડો			ઘોડ્યાલા
			ઘોડ્યાચા
દેવ	દેવ (ને-ઘોડાં-માં)	દેવ	દેવાલા
			દેવાસ
			દેવાચા

Marātīhi has the યા sign in oblique cases. In words ending in એ also: પાણી-રાણીએ, પાણ્યાચે etc.. This યા modification is traceable to an analytical arrangement still in vogue which unites the noun with the declensions of the pronoun એ (=this), plur. એ, forming યા in

the *sandhi* process with the oblique modificant आ. Thus रामचन्द्र विष्णु गोदबोले + genitive suffix will be गोदबोले.आंचे. (यांचे). Gujarati writers under the influence of pioneer Marathi scholars who composed Gujarati texts and grammars in the early days of the Educational Department, and also under the present day influence of Baroda writers, adopt this periphrastic formation, which is quite un-Gujarati. Thus they would write आनन्दशंकर मुव एओए रच्यु instead of आनन्दशंकर मुवे रच्यु.]

Before plunging into the oblique case suffixes and their origin, *The vocative.* I may touch the subject of the vocative formation in Gujarati.

There is no termination for the Gujarati vocative, except that in the case of nouns ending in ओ or ऊ (i. e. the evolutes of the क (अक) ending) the final vowel changes to आ to form the vocative. Thus:—

(1) घोडा ! येगे दोडजे पठाणगे मुज कंप

(2) देडका ! देडका !! श्वादं सरहुं तुं ते कूदी फूदीने केडलं कूदीगा ?

words ending in अ remain unchanged in the vocative:—

(1) अरे राम ! शु रुंडे ?

(2) नाय ! जागो, नाय ! जागो, वाणी यो आभासनी

(*Mahabharataramaya*, in *Nupurajhankara*

by Narsinhrao Bholanath).

Similarly, words ending in other vowels (vowels other than अ or आ) remain unchanged in the vocative:—

(1) राजा ! त्वारी आण जग आयामां वर्तती

(2) पिता त्वने शु कुं वारवारे ?

(3) हृति ! हृति ! आ शु युं ?

(4) हे साधु ! तुं पर्मधी चक्रीश नहिं.

It will be interesting to compare with the Gujarati vocative formation, the same in Marathi and Hindi:—

*Marathi.*—

(1) वाळ्या ! तुदा काप सांगु ? (Base- वाळ)

(2) देवा हो ! जयदेवा हो (Base-देव)  
नाथा हो ! दीन नाथा हो ! (Base-नाथ)  
(3) रामा ! रामा ! रघूतमा ! रामा ! (Base राम and रघूतम)  
(4) कपीन्द्रा ! छत्री आहे कीं सद्गुणतर वा राम (Base-कपीन्द्र)

*Hindi* —

(1) अरे लाले मनसुखे (Base-लाला and मनसुखा)  
(2) भाल तिलक अरु टप्पी  
नाथ ! हुमि जानत हो सदकी (Base-नाथ)  
(3) नाथ ! कैसे गजको वपु छडायो (Base-नाथ)

[Note — *Āpabhrāmī* turns the final अ of neons to आ in the vocative as also in the nominative —

Vocative-दोहळा मरु तुदु वारिभा मा कुट दीहा माणु

Nominative-दोहळा सामला घण चपावणी]

There is an exception in modern poetry (and occasionally in dignified prose) where

(a) the अ ending is lengthened into आ in the vocative, most probably in imitation of the Marathi idiom  
and (b) the Sanskrit vocative is adopted in the case of words ending in अम् आ (fem), इ (masc) ई (fem) and उ (masc) the object being to lend classical dignity to religious and similar writings

Instances —

Under (a) —

(1) अनायन्ता ! देवा ! अतुपम अविद्या पर्ही परा !  
(*Itcaraprārthana mālā Anla I* by Bholanath Sarabhai)  
(2) उत्र शिव मगल गुण गाड ईश्वरा !  
(*Hridaya vina* opening poem Narasinhrao Bholanath)  
(3) पूळ हु प्रभ प्रेमे पूळी हुज पद हे ! पडिता शाळी शाणा  
(*Viramati Nataka*, I-III, by Navalaram )

Under (b)

(1) हे परमात्मन् ! ताठ कीर्तन तारी स्तुति अमे शु करि सकियेहे ?

(*Itcaraprārthana mālā Anla XXI* prose prayer  
by Bholanath Sarabhai )

(2) ते अन्धसार महिं उँड़ूँ उँड़ूँ निशाळे,  
उँडे जले निरखती रही थुं थुं वाले?

(Hridaya-Vinâ p. 14, st. 4-I, 14, Narasinhario Bholâñâth)  
(3) कृपानिधे सन्मति नित्य आपो

(Ishara-prârthanâ-mâlâ, Anla XII)

(4) क्षमा देवि! क्षमा देवि! शापो दे छुज मस्तके

(Hridaya-vinâ, p. 22, st. 21, Narasinhario Bholâñâth)  
(5) उपाहुं तने प्रेमधी हुं प्रभो हे

(Ishara-prârthanâ-mâlâ)

It is possible to carry this attempt at Sanskritized vocative to a ridiculous extreme, by ignorance of Sanskrit grammar, as will be seen in the following instance —

विधाते गेवी ए तर उत्तर! आला रस रुपे  
समर्पेहुं लेजे जीवन रसलोके अनुपमे!

(Indulumâra-nâlaka, I II, p. 26, by Nânalal D. Kavi.)

The error here appears to have arisen out of the fact that विधाता the base word in Gujarâti, instead of being referred to the Sanskrit विधात् (which must have विधातः as the vocative), is mistaken by the writer for a Skr. word ending in आ (feminine) like वाला, माला and the like.

Oblique case terminations, their groupings We can now attend to the oblique case terminations in Gujarâti. These are —

Cases	Terminations
Objective	(द्वितीया)
Instrumental or Agentive	(तृतीया)
Dative	(चतुर्थी)
Ablative	(पञ्चमी)
Genitive	(षष्ठी)
Locative	(सप्तमी)

I shall divide these terminations into three groups.

(I) the हुं group, (II) the ए group and (III) the single group.

(I) This हुं group will include the objective, the dative and the genitive terminations,

(II) This त् group will include the instrumental agentive and the locative (ए) terminations, and

(III) This will include the ablative भी and the locative भी terminations.

The reasons for this grouping will be apparent in the treatment itself.

### (I) The त् group.

The basis of this group is the genitive termination, त्. For, the dative, ने is but a combination of the genitive त् with the locative ए followed by some unspoken word meaning हिते, अर्थे this word being in the locative case and the विशेष्य of the word with the genitive termination. Thus —

(a) शास्त्रणने राजे भाषो is really a contraction of शास्त्रणने [हिते, अर्थे] गाय भाषो,

(b) राजने गमो राणी, ते उणा वीणती भाणी, here राजने is equivalent to राजने [मने] (=राजाना मनमा) or some such expression,

(c) यशोधरा राणीने हँवर सापल्यो, here राणीने stands for राणीने [हितार्थे or the like] similarly वाजियाना छोकराने रस्तामापी दीरो जळ्यो, where छोकराने would mean छोकराने [रामार्थे or the like]

(d) गुरु शिष्यने खीजेहो is a contraction of गुरु शिष्यने [अर्थे] खीजेहो, where अर्थे stands for a generic idea not लाभ or benefit, आपठाने मार्ग चतावो is a contraction of आपठाने [हितार्थे] मार्ग चतावो

(e) मोहनलाल मास्तोरे म्हारा मगनियाने सात सोटीभो मारी here मगनिया the receiver of the beating, gets it, not as a welcome but an unwelcome thing none the less the recipient is the person getting the 'hencfit' of the action, in a perverted sense, hence मगनियाने stands for मगनियाने [अर्थे].

Instances (e) and (f) may be regarded by some as falling under the objective case, the verb therem being taken as द्विकर्मक. But, minutely examined, the रौणकमे in such cases is nothing but a सप्रदान, शिष्यने पर्म डृष्टेशेहो, or छोकराने मार्ग केहो are really instances where the word with the ने termination represents the party profiting by the action the receiving party and therefore the सप्रदान. Similarly पार्षीने पथाताप यायेहो, छोकराने पथरो वायो, राणीने शू

दु स प्य and the like will furnish under microscopic examination various minute shades of the idea of recipient ship which is the basis of संप्रदान and theative case formation

This is but a stepping stone to the next member of the त् group viz the objective case termination ने The संप्रदान nature of the गौण कर्म shades off into the position of कर्म, and eventually there are forms where the संप्रदान nature is entirely absent and the कर्मत्व prevails absolutely. Thus in पेला भिखारीए राजकुमारीने छजामा ऊमेली दीठी the formation राजकुमारीने is no longer a dative case but purely objective राजकुमारीने being the object of the act of seeing. None the less the ने termination is to be regarded as the residue of a combination of ने and some word conveying the idea of recipient ship which serves us a link between the object राजकुमारी and the act of seeing. Thus the objective ने is but a further outturn of the dative ने. This will be perceived forcibly when pure objective forms are placed in contrast where the case termination is entirely lost हु रोट्टो खाउ भाई चोपडी याचेहे Here रोट्टो चोपडी and the like are instances of the true objective case they are the कर्म of खाउ वाचु इत्यत्त्वे the objective termination अम् (Skr) having disappeared through the Apabhramsa and post Apabhramsa evolutions (except in the case of words ending in क् in the neuter gender where they preserve the अ in the अम् ending e. g. सचड वंकड)

Thus then ने (objective to a limited extent) and ने (dative), being the offsprings of त् (genitive) we need

*Derivation of त्* look into the derivation of त् (genitive) only

It is recognised on all hands<sup>3</sup> that this त् is derived from the Apabhramsa तण meaning संविधन् (S. II. Pt. VIII. n. 422)

3. Blandfords Wilson Philological Lectures P. 257 middle Beames Vol. II p. 288 and L. S. I. Vol. IX. Pt. II p. 328 paras in small type Dr Hoernle derives नो नी त् from किण (J. A. S. Bengal XII. part I p. 142 and preceding pages) This derivation has the merit of थीजलाप्त as the same root त् accounts for the Hindi का Rajasthani रो, Bengali त্, and Gujarati નો. But the universally accepted तण cannot be lightly discarded.

Dr. Tessitori however strikes a dissentient note<sup>4</sup> as regards the original of the dative suffix, ને, and, Dr Tessitori's view, rejecting the orthodox view, advances a stated, examined and rather bold theory. In fairness to a scholar of his ability and erudition, I must examine his theory thoroughly. His theory is

(A)-(1) That the dative suffix ને was derived from કન્દુઃ-કન્દિ found frequently in O W Rig in the sense of "near", from, &c., કન્દુઃ itself being derivable from Skr કણી, the sense being fixed on the analogy of Skr અપિકણ (Rig-Veda અપિકણંસ् u) the region of the ears and then, near=behind the ear, back from behind,  
 (2) and that this sense of "near" was confused with the meaning of the dative case

Instances are given by him to mark this confusion —

Sense of "near" —

1. પ્રિયાદિ લોક કન્દુઃ થાતકિ વસિતું નાદી
2. ચતુરક કન્દિ પૂછુ યનધણી
3. ઇન્દ્ર માગું જિન કન્દુઃ દિલ્લા એ.

Dative case meaning —

4. આવું તિદાં કળિ (he goes there)

5. ભગવન્ત કન્દુઃ આવી કદર (having gone to the venerable one)

6. લીલુચાદિત કન્દુઃ જર્દ (having resorted to wife, sons, &c.)

(B)-(1) That કન્દુઃ-નું had two senses (1) dative, (2) agentive, in O. W. Rig નું did not have the agentive sense, it developed in later times (He quotes one instance from Γ 700 (p. 10a)

આદીખર ના દીયા લીધી જાણી (=આદીખરે, લીધી),

(2) that the agentive sense is a filiation of the ablative instead of the dative

His reasons —

- (a) instances of ablative કન્દુઃ already given

4 His "Notes § 73(5), and his article on "Dative and Genitive Postpositions in Gujarati and Marawadi J R A. S 1913 A D. pp. 553 ff.

(h) if we think of a phrase such as मह वाप (क)-नह तामिति मह गुरु (क)-नह दीक्षा लीधी, we shall see how easily it can be turned into वाप नह कहिये or गुरु नह दीक्षा लीधी. Further, Dr. Tessitori adds,— the fact is that in मह गुरु (क)-नह दीक्षा लीधी there are practically two agentives of which the grammatical one मह is only apparent while the other, गुरु (क)-नह, is the real performer of the action ; and (3) Dr. Tessitori gives (according to him a conclusive evidence in favour of अनह (as the origin of नह) by quoting a *pāda* of a *chaupāi* from the *Panchākhyāna* —

वाटै नहै एक निरमल नीर

("Close by the road [there was a lake of] limpid water"), 286.

He thinks he proves by this —

- (i) that नहै is a substantive in the locative like अगहन्,—for, says he, if it were the genitive postposition नो (<नउ) it could not be used so that easily separately,
- (ii) that it is a real post position, for if it were compounded with the noun it governs the latter could not have been inflected into the locative case,

and (iii) that it is capable of being used "pleonastically" that is after a word inflected into the same case, just like the agentive ने in High Hindi after the instrumental of the personal pronouns, (महनहै-मैने=Guj नहै, by me).

(O)-I *Genitive suffix*, नो —Dr. Tessitori says that नो (genitive suffix) cannot have come from तणउ, because

- (i) there is no possible reason to account for the cerebral passing into the dental,

and (2) नो is peculiar to Gujarāti and is not found in those dialects of Rājasthāni which possess both तणौ and (क) नहै.

He concludes from these considerations

- (a) that नो is posterior to (*la*)<sub>n(h)</sub> which certainly existed in the language from which both Gujarāti and Rājasthani originated.

and (b) that नहै and नउ being congeners, it is नउ that sprung from नहै, and not the opposite.

(In a footnote Dr Tessitori cites 'મગબત નાદ તેરમણ મણ' " this is the 18th existence of the venerable one " to show the genitive sense of નાદ )

(C)-II Dr Tessitori sees a corroboration of his derivation of નો from કાન્દા-નર in the fact that in O W R's poetry તણત is used when possession is meant while નર is used when the general idea of place or service is involved (He cites instances) and for this latter (place origin agency) કાન્દા is used commonly Therefore he concludes નર is allied to કાન્દા

*The view examined* Now let us examine all these theories and and refuted arguments one by one —

(A) The derivation of કાન્દા from કણો may be accepted as a working basis the analogy of Vedic અધિકર્ણમ् is perhaps a little thin Be that as it may the statement under (2) viz this sense of near was confused with the meaning of the dative case cannot be accepted as correct The instances especially numbers (1), (3), (4), (6) and (8) will clearly show that કણો and કાન્દા present a clear meaning of "near" Only in number (2) કાન્દા appears to slide into ન in the matter of sense This mere coincidence must be looked at with serious suspicion as there are grounds to be shown farther below for accepting a truer derivation and rejecting this one Dr Tessitori traces ને-નાદ from કાન્દા-કાન્દા by the dropping of the unaccented initial syllable (કા), this is very plausible but for reasons just indicated I have to reject the source-word itself

(B) (1) and (2) This makes rather a large demand on our imagination It is very far-fetched Besides the whole relation of receiver and giver is inverted in the process of interpretation put forward by Dr Tessitori For the agent of the action દેય is મણ (I), and not યે who is the agent of the action દેણ (giving of the દીણા) Here we see a confusion between the two acts દેય and દેણ or rather between the દેનાર (receiver) and the દેનાર (giver)

(3)-(1), (a), and (iii)—

Dr. Tessitori has gone astray all along here. The personal pronoun stands on a different footing. A noun cannot have such double inflection. Again (ii) and (iii) are mutually conflicting. But, the greatest error has arisen from Dr. Tessitori's taking नदै in the line from the *Panchākhyanā* (वाटै नदै एक निरमल नीर) as a suffix derived from नदै. Such an interpretation gives no fitting chain of ideas to the sentence 'on the road,—near by-one(?)pure water.' To cure this defect he has to import, unauthorizedly, the idea of 'a lake' to rendering this line. All this trouble was unnecessary. For नदै here stands for नदी (a river) "on the road (to the way) there was a river with limpid water."—is the sense, the *anusādra* of the इ of नदै being evidently a mislection. I drew Dr. Tessitori's attention to this interpretation in a private letter dated 19th March 1919, asking him to give the line before and after this one to see if there was a word there meaning 'a lake', and in his reply dated 21st March 1919 he generously admitted his mistake. He said—

"You are right नदै stays for नदी in the passage quoted by you, as is clear from the fact that, three lines below the text has the phrase नदी कैदि. I was mislead by the *anusādra* on the ए, and I am very glad that you called my attention to my blunder."

Thus the whole fabric raised on this single error tumbles down.

(C)—I (1). I have shown a number of instances of ए going back to न (यौवन (Slr.), जोवण (Pr.), जोवन (Guj.), स्तन (Skr.), पण (Pr.), धान (Guj.), &c. &c.)<sup>5</sup>.

(2) This, if intended as an objection, has really no force in it. There is no reason why all the dialects should possess all the peculiarities. Gujarati could evolve नो out of तणो while the other dialects had तणो and नदै.

Dr. Tessitori's conclusions —

(a) and (b)

5. Vide the first Volume of these Lectures pp. 179-180, also pp. 361-362.

True, નો is posterior to (Ka)-n (h) a ; but it does not follow therefrom that નો arose out of કન્દુ-નદુ. To say that નદુ and નડ are congeners is assuming too much, નદુ may have come from કન્દુ (though the Gujarati dative ને has certainly not come), so and નડ from તણડ. There is nothing to preclude such a possibility. In Dr Tessitori's instance ભગવંત નદુ તેરમણ ભવ the suffix નદુ is a pure dative suffix the genitive sense is only inferential subsequently 'To the ભગવંત this is the 13th existence' is the construction and then, secondarily 'this is the 13th existence of the ભગવંત.'

The greatest point against Dr. Tessitori's theory is this

નડ, (નો-ની-નું) are adjectival in essence and form, and this adjectival nature can be accounted for best by તણ which is adjectival, meaning, as it does, સત્તાન્યન્તરું\* and assuming the several changes of gender and number, whereas નદુ from કન્દુદુ is non adjectival and incapable of inflection, being adverbial entirely. Consequently કન્દુદુ-નદુ cannot evolve and account for નો-ની-નું, ના-ના with the variety in gender and number

6 This adjectival nature of તણ is further indicated by its derivation, which Dr Tessitori has given for the first time in his "Notes § 73 (4) He rejects the orthodox derivation from the Skr *taddhita*, તણ, on the ground that postpositions generally are separate nouns or adjectives and the derivation of a postposition from an affix would be an unprecedented exception. He therefore derives તણ from અત્પણત (Skr *atmanalah*), by dropping the initial syllable and changing the પ to ત. I am inclined to accept this derivation, with the modification that instead of અત્પણત we take અત્તણત as the source word, because આત્મા becomes અત્તા as well as અત્પા. And I am not prepared to accept the reason given by Dr Tessitori for rejecting the derivation from Skr તણ. It is quite conceivable that the very Skr suffix તણ was at some stage evolved from some form of અત્તમન્ત્ર. Nor can the principle be accepted that a postposition cannot be derived from a suffix. I prefer the derivation from અત્પણત, rather અત્તણત, on the independent ground that it answers very well and fits in with our philological and phonetic sense.

## (C)-II.

This argument is very ingenious, but unconvincing none the less. The sense-distinction of possession and source (or place) is fine. But I cannot accept this argument as conclusive especially in the face of the great difficulty noted just above, viz. the adjectival nature of नो-नी-हूँ against the adverbial nature of बनहूँ-नहूँ.

So much to meet Dr. Tessitori's arguments themselves. A further and very significant refutation of his position is furnished by the fact that the very source-word of नो-नी-हूँ, viz. तणे, becomes तणे as a dative suffix (just like the modern Gujarātī ने) in Gujarātī literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Vikramars, and thereafter. Here are the instances:

(a) कान्द तणाई संपत्ति इसी जिसि इन्द्रह परि रिदि।

(*Kānhaḍa-Prabandha*, I-9)

(b) देवतणे मध्याई चुराई

(*Ibid*, I-87)

(c) कर्तु निरोगी क्रृषि तणे ए

(*Bharata-Bāhubali-Rāsa*, II-7, by *Rishabhadda*, V. S. 1678, *Ananda-Kārya-Mahodadhi* Vol. III, p. 8.)

(d) अष्टर तणे उपदेश ज फीषो

(*Hira-lijoya-Sūri-Rāsa*, III-1, by *Rishabhadda* V. S. 1685.)

(e) धन्वी मणेक भुगत तणे समजाविया (*Ibid*, XXVIII-21)

(f) दीर तणे इस भासे सोय (*Ibid*, XXIX-4)

(g) दीर तणे मूर्खावियो ए (*Ibid*, XXX-24)

(h) धुव तणे इंकलेहे तेद

(*Dhruvākhyāna*, by *Tulasi*, *Br. Kārya Dohana* II, 3rd edition p. 53.)

If support by analogy were wanted it is furnished partially by the genitive and dative terminations in Hindi. The genitive termination is का and the dative को. Although I would not go so far as to state, with Sir George Grierson,<sup>7</sup> that को is formed by

7. LSL, vol. IX, Part II, p. 328, last para in small type. He says "Ko is the locative of Kd, as -s is that of s or m and as -s is that of n."

adding the locative to કો, the position that can be taken up is this કો in Hindi cannot be said to have come from the dative કો.

[ I may note incidentally that the હું and તણું termination came into use when the termination દ, descendant of Skr. સ্য (Pr. સ્સ), became worn out. At one stage this દ and તણ signed side by side, as in કાન્દ તણદું એપણી ઇસી જિસી દુનદ્રહ ઘરિ ફિદ્દિ (Kānhaḍade *prabandha* I-9), though તણદું here is in the dative stage. તાસ તણ ગુણ વણંદું કીરતિ કાન્દદ્રહ (Ibid. I. 6)-(કાન્દદ્રહ+દ genitive termination) પરયાને સામગ્રી દીઠી કટક્ખું તણી અપાર (Ibid. I-14); (દ, genitive, join કટક with તણી, just as સ in તાસતણા) This we find in the post Apabhramsha period. The gradual stages are marked thus:—

1. (ભા)દ for (અસ્ત) in Māgadhi—કરમાદ (કર્મણ: \*કરમસ્ત) *Si. IIe.* VIII-iv-209.

2. ભાદ for gen. plur. in Māgadhi, *Si. He.* VIII-iv-860.

3. દુ-દો-દૃષ્ટિ for Skr. સ્ય, in Apabhramsha, *Si. He.* VIII-ii-888.

4. દુ for gen. plur. in Apabhramsha; *Si. He.* VIII-iv-889.

Thus સ્ય-દુ-(ભા)સ-દ-દુ and plur. (ભા)દુ દુ (transferred from the singular સ્સ-સ), denoted the genitive termination. Although દુ is given in the grammars ૬ figures in literature as in અન્દ (અન્તસ્ય Skr.) in the line:—દરું ફિન્જદું તડ કેદું પિઅ તુદું તુણ અન્દ રેણ (Illustration to *Si. He.* VIII-iv-425.) Also see *Kanhaḍadeprabandha*, I—241 :—સધિકાદ દુદ્યદિ દરય ન માય.

This દુ (evolved from સ) gradually lost the aspiration and the mere અ deserved to die. This left the field clear for તણ to reign supreme, and this wore out (through અણ-અન) into હું. I have already indicated the insidious manner in which તણ, attaching

If કો can be connected with the dative in old Hindi, I must withdraw my reservation on this point; and my argument from analogy will be complete and not partial.

Beames, Vol. II, p. 253 and p. 257, connects II. કો through કાહું, કાહું, with કદમ્બ. Still this does not furnish a good basis for the genitive-locative theory for કો.

8. See *supra* pages 25 and 85.

itself as an analytical adjectival post-position, with स (स्य Skr.) as a link between itself and the main word, suppressed, as it were, the terminal link, स, and eventually usurped the place of the termination. As a retribution for this act of usurpation, this स had to suffer corrosion and reduce itself to a mere synthetic termination in the shape of ण्. This usurpation was helped by the change of स to ण and the loss of the aspiration of ण. Thns: देवसतण्ण-देवहतण्ण-देवतण्ण-देव (अण्ण-अं) - देवं.) ]

### GROUP II—The ए group.

We take up this group now, the instrumental-agentive ए and the locative ए terminations.

#### ए—Instrumental-agentive.

This termination is traceable in Skr. एन, Pr. एण, Ap. ए, post-Ap. ए-ए॑.

Thus:—

बृक्षेण (Skr.), बृक्षेण (Pr.), बृक्षेण (Ap.)

Post-Ap. 1. कोलीए रीठी! रूपए मोद्दउ

(*Panchākhyāna vārtika*, p. 16)

2. घटारि.....पहिराव्या

(*Ibid*, p. *ibid*.)

3. जेणए प्रकारए राजा ए वरस जीवह

(*Vaitdla-Pancharisi*, prose, p. 116, l. 1)

The step through which Gujarāti ए came is the post-Ap. ए termination affixed to the क ending of words; thus:

ए ल्लोक वानरए सांभल्लो

(*Panchākhyāna-vārtika*, p. 31.)

Here वानरए is from वानरेण (वानरेण would be वानरि); this yields वानरे in Gujarāti. The termination then, in Gujarāti, is ए (not ए॑), even where there is no क ending, thus राजाए, घोडाए, ग्रामेय, राणीए, रमाए etc.. This ए is not a direct descendant of the Pr. ए, however; it is the evolnt of अह (अक+ए).

Bearig this genesis of the ए termination in mind, I must attach a reservation to my earlier statement as regards the analytic or synthetic nature of this case-termination in Gujarāti. I have stated

that in દાપે વળેણું લગ્નું (dāpē, Instr.) the termination એ gets fused into the base-word, દાપ.<sup>9</sup> I would add a reservation here that this fusion has its source in the અક્ષ+એ=અદ્ભુત step precedent to the એ evolnte, and what was then intended was the ready made Gujarātī termination એ as treated finally here.

An incidental notice may be taken regarding this instrumental-agentive termination, marking a distinction between the instrumental and the agentive forms; it is this: while the instrumental is formed by the એ termination as well as by the postpositions બદે, બતે and the termination એ (which may be regarded as the oblique used instrumentally), the agentive is formed only by the એ termination. Thus:—

Instrumental:—દાપે લાહયું; દાપ <sup>બદે</sup> લાહયું; દાપથી લાહયું;

Agentive:—ધોરાપ લાત મારી; ધોરે મારી લાત બે જર્ણ લાત;

ધોરા બદે (ધોરે ઘણે) મારી રે, હંલ હરીલા એગાલા;

[This privilege of the instrumental, viz: the alternative use of the termination and the post-positions is shared by the dative case in that it utilizes માટે, કાંજે, સાંટે alternatively with the termination ને; of course, idiom and the special sense intended deciding which of the alternative formations is to be used.]

[The instrumental in એ is sometimes used in the sense of the dative; thus: જાપા જાતાએ ગયાઠે=father has gone for (on) a pilgrimage; જાતા માટે being the sense. In fact the એ in માટે, કાંજે, અપે is instrumental, (નિમિત્તકેન, કાર્યેણ, અર્પેન). This એ, or rather the એ (applied to the base without the એ suffix) is turned to અ in poetry; કાજ for કાંજિ, કામ for કામિ; દેખાડતિ દીલી જલા આવે *Kānhadade-prabandha*, II-69), -જલગે (ઓદ્ધા-ઓદ્ધા માટે).]

#### એ-Locative termination.

Like the એ of the instrumental this locative એ owes its origin to the અક્ષ+એ step. The only difference is that this એ is traceable, not to એ (Pr.) but to the એ (loc.) in Ap. which is alternative with એ (loc.), the O. W. R. form having એ-એ. Instances:—

1. तीँ नगरै सदाचारी पवित्र बांधण सोमसर्मी वसइ

(*Panchākhyānarvdr̥tika*, p. 24, ll. 7-8.)

(नगरै to be traced back to नगरे; *Gnj.* is नगरे).

2. लियुगि कोइ न पालइ खर

(*Vināla-prabandha*, III-72)

(Here, in युगि, we have the इ without the क suffix before it.)

It is to be noted that while the °क+इ(=अइ) has given the ए termination to the Gujarāti locative, the इ without the °क gets turned into अ in Gujarāti (locative), but this latter use is confined to poetry; thus:—

रावण तणइ कपालि would be रावणतणे कपाल in Gujarāti poetry.

In वनवन भर्मी सोवी दक्षियो नव मर्मी ओ मृति अमोळ

(*Vidhuranū-Mdyādarśana*, st. 3, in *Nūpura-Zanlāra*,

by Narasīnbarāo Bholānātib)

वन वन is locative with the इ (of वनि वनि) changed to अ.

[The same remarks apply to the इ and ए of the instrumental agentive case formation; e. g.

1 दान दीँगुँ में ए छुन हाय

2 भी कुर्णदेवनी दया यकी त्यां मस्त्य पेष्यो अर्जुन

(*Premānand, Subhadrā-haranya*, I, 87).

3 पर्चि पांदव वर्या द्वौपदी कुंतामातवचन

(*Ibid*, I-88)]

Thus the form वनि is not a contraction of वनइ, but in the former इ is affixed to वन, while in the latter it is affixed to वनक. The danger of regarding वनि as a contraction of वनइ lies in the outward analogy between वनइ-वनि and करह-करि. But there is a clear distinction between the two types, the former deals with a noun with क suffix plus the इ termination, while the latter is the formation resulting from the reduction of ति (pres. tense 3rd person singular termination) to इ by the elision of the ति.]

[At p. 85, n. 56, *supra* I have indicated the 'on'-sense of ए as distinguished from the 'inside'-sense of मो. I may add here that ए sometimes has another sense, viz., that of motion *to* or *into* a place, e. g. गोपाळ घोरे गयो= 'Gopal went to Baroda'; इ पेर

गयो=‘I went home (*lit. to (my) house*) मां also has this sense sometimes as in the sentence, ઘરના દાસ્તા ઘનમાં ગયા, ને ઘનમાં ટાગી દાય, where the first ઘનમાં means ‘to or into a forest,’ while the second ઘનમાં simply means ‘in the forest’”]

### GROUP III-The ablative घी-पकी and the locative मा terminations.

#### घी-पकी (*Ablative*)

घी is used in prose घकी is confined to poetry. Besides, as we have noted before they are differently derived. It will facilitate a true conception of the question to remember that घी and घकी figure in our language

(a) as indeclinable suffixes, as in हु कुશાદુંઘી ભાગ્યો, એ ઉપરેઘી પડ્યો, પગઘી માથા સ્થાની પ્રાણ ઘરી,

બદર થકી કંડે વાલ જે'દ, જે'રું પ્રેત ઇમગાનઘી

(*Kusumamalā*, p. 91, *Narainharao Bholanath*)

ગિરિયોચ થકી કેતરી સધકી (*Ibid*, p. 84)

and

(b) as an adjectival suffix liable to changes of gender and number, i. e., as a વિકારી વિશેરણ,

e. g., ચ્યાર રત્ન તિદા સ્થકા ( *Suddamākhyāna* by Gangādīs, probably V. S. 1716)

• અપરિ ધિકા જે દાધી યોગ ( *Kānhadade prabandha*, I 94)

For the termination घी several derivations are claimed

(a) तथ् (Skr.) as in तुलत,

(b) ताहि, loc. sing. of तत् in Prāk and Ap.,

(c) दृतउ, pres. part., <दृतउ <दोन्तउ (Ap) <મદન્તક (Skr.),

(d) स्था=to stand, વિષટ્ઠ, on the one hand, for the adjectival form in the old literature (ઓપો ઓઘી ઓગ) and the કાત્ત્રાન્ત form in Guj of પા (Skr. સ્થપી)=to be, viz. ઘડે for the adverbial घી on the other, while घકી is traced to

(e) घક<sup>10</sup> <घકર (Pr.), <સ્થપયતિ Skr. (?)

Now let us consider the merits of all these claimants

10 स्थપ् as a Skr. root is perhaps conjectural but घક् existed as a Prakrit root (*S. He.* VIII iv 16) The Bangali root घाक्=to stay,

(a) तस् has several drawbacks :

(1) तः is an indeclinable and consequently 'it cannot be the parent of the adjectival थो-थी-युं, with the inflections of gender and number;

(2) तः leaves unaccounted for the अ in स्थकी;

(3) The अ in स्थकी &c., (found in old works) remains unexplained;

and (4) there is a psychological difficulty, in that the locative idea preceding थी as in थोड़ेथी पड़यो and the like is incapable of fitting in with तस्.

(b) तस्ति is suggested by Dr. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar.<sup>11</sup> But the difficulties in the way of accepting this derivation are these:—

(1) The sense of तस्ति viz., that of localive, cannot very well fit in with the idea of अपादान, which is the essence of the ablative case;

(2) तस्ति is an indeclinable, and it cannot account for the adjectival suffix थो, थी, युं;

(3) Nor can it account for the presence of the अ in स्थकी &c.;

and (4) It will not harmonize with the locative idea in the word preceding the थी, as in थोड़ेथी पड़यो and the like.

(c) दत्त.—Dr. Tessitori<sup>12</sup> traces the O. W. Rūj. ablative suffixes तत् and यत् from this through the steps noted against it remain, be, owes its origin to this पद्=to stand, the sense being easily transferrable. Guj. पाक् (पाकु)=to be tired is also connected with पद्; one who is tired stops, stands, instead of moving on.

11 His Wilson Philologic Lectures, p. 254.

Dr. Bhandarkar himself derives the M. ablative suffix, अन्-हन्, from होहन् (=having been), and this should have really given him a clue to the true derivation of the Gujarati termination, थी as we shall soon see.

12 "Notes", §72, (2), (3). The change of त to अ under the influence of अ in दत्त, though not impossible, involves a needless step; whereas स्थ of स्थितक supplies the अ ready-made naturally and easily. Besides, स्था being the root common to the थो (adjectival) and थी (indeclinable), we secure brevity of phonetic principles (प्रिंजलापद).

above. This is good, as far it goes, but it is only the second best derivation, or rather as basis for analogy in hitting the right derivation which is found in

(d) and (e).—સ્થા and પણ. I shall give reasons as briefly but fully as possible. To state my conclusions first, I hold, that પી (indeclinable) is derived from the conjunctive participle of પણું (પાણું, old Guj. and modern Kāthiāvāḍī Guj.), સ્થા Skr.; and પણી (indeclinable) similarly from the conjunctive participle of પણ (Pr.) substitute of સ્થા (Skr.); and that પો-પી-પું<sup>13</sup> adjectival forms are to be traced to સ્થિતક (Skr.) past participle form of સ્થા, and પકો, પણી, પણું (adjectival) are derived from પક્ષિઅત (Ap.) past participle of પણ.

*Reasons:*—The idea of location in the word-ending to which પી and પણી are affixed (e.g. in વડોદરેપી આવ્યો) harmonizes well in the thought-linking of the sentence; thus વડોદરેપી=having been (પી) in (to) Baroda. A Comparison with Marāṭhi is illuminating: તો ગાંચાણન આલા here દૂન (the ablative suffix) is a contraction of દોઝન (=having been); the sense literally 'is;-'he having been (in) to the village, came'.<sup>13</sup> There is a slight distinction between Gujarāti and Marāṭhi in this instance; viz. that Gujarāti (વડોદરેપી) has the locative indication (એ in વડોદરે), while Marāṭhi (ગાંચાણન) has none such; but in અમદાવાદથી આવ્યો the locative index is suppressed (or rather old Guj. ઇ is turned to એ), and we may suppose that Marāṭhi ગાંચાણન has a similar latent locative indication, or that the આ in ગાંચા may represent an old locative index.

પો-પકો; પો-પત �can be traced to સ્થિતક: through પિત્ર (Ap.); and પકો, પકું to પક્ષિઅત (Ap.). Their adjectival nature is not incompatible with their linking up with the idea of location which the sense of 'to stand' requires perforce.

13 Dr. Bhāndārkar (Lectures; pp. 255-6) gives this same derivation for દૂન, but suggests the sense differently: 'the village having been, he came.' I submit, this is obviously not as fitting as 'he having been to the village'. The absence of a clear locative indication in ગાંચ (દોઝન) will not justify taking ગાંચ in the nominative.

પકો is correctly connected with પ્રકિભાર rather than with સ્થિતક, for the double એ in the former leaves the એ alive in પકો whereas the simple એ in સ્થિતક would either be elided or turn to એ

It must be conceded that for a long time this adjectival પો-થી-એ and પકો-થકી એ રૂપ retained their adjectival value even when conveying an ablative idea. Then gradually the ablative idea predominated. But as the adjectival form in the shape of gender and number could not be got rid of in Gujarati at a later stage of its evolution brought into play the ablative suffixes થી and થકી first through the step of the conjunctive participial form પદ્ધ, પકદ. This view of the ablative suffixes gains support from the M. જન <દૂન <હોઝન examined a little while ago and also from the old Braj usage of હોય (conjunctive participle) as in આપદે પવન પદમસરિ હોય<sup>14</sup> (the wind comes after having been in (=from) the lotus lake" (Paramayogeshstotra 7, by Banaras Dasa) also પદ્ધ similarly used in O. W. Raj e.g. ઉત્તરાપાદિ નથત્રિ પદ્ધ 14 (Pishabhadeva dharala Sambandha 51). Consider also the following line in Narasinha Mehta મદનો નદ આનદ થદ્દ અવતયો (Narasinha Mehta's Poems Gujarati Press Edition p. 483, pada 35 line 2). પદ્ધ here distinctly stands for the modern થી. It was forms like these that eventually crystallized the conjunctive participle (પદ્ધ-પકદ) into the indeclinable ablative termination (થી-થકી), the former (conjunctive participle) being analytical and the latter (થી થકી) being synthetical<sup>15</sup>

14 Cited in Tessitori's Notes 72 (6)

15 Dr Tessitori holds a different view viz. that પદ્ધ is a conjunctive participle bearing an ablative significance without being identical with the ablative post position થી ("Notes 72 (6)"). This is simply a distinction without a difference.

For a fuller examination of Dr Tessitori's views see my article on the "Ablative Termination in Gujarati", Sir Ashutosh Mukerji Silver Jubilee Volumes Vol. III, 3. I may however add that Tessitori's derivation of થી થકી from the locative of the past participles of થાયું and થકાર is a needlessly round-about method and at the foundation of this view lies his original error of deriving the conjunctive participle form (થરી) from the locative absolute (થરિઃ) of the past participle થરિઃ, an error which I have already disposed of (See my *ra* p. 68 n. 27).

It must, however, be remembered that in અમદાવાદથી આવ્યો and the like (where the base to which થી is applied ends in અ) the locative suffix before the થી is latent, the old form would be અમદાવાદથી

On the other hand, usages like દ્વાર્પણી ગયો, પગણી માધા લગી જાણ ચઢો, મ્હારા ઘરથી ત્હમારુ ઘર એક ગાજ છેડુ છે, ઘરથી દૂર તે દૂર, આ લોંબદાથી પેલા ભાગા સૂધી ઇમારી હદ છે, furnish evidence in support of the pure ablative without a locative intervention. I think a correct history of the idiom is this. Originally the adjectival form (થો-થી-યુ) remained pure, then it滑ded into the ablative idea, and eventually the conjunctive participial form came in, yet it is possible to interpret the ablative sense of થી by referring it to the past participle of સ્થા, વદોદરથી આવ્યો being explainable as વદોદરે સ્થિત (દતો તે) આવ્યો, or પારીએથી જુયેથે meaning વારાણે સ્થિત દોંડ જુયેથે, a clear indication being furnished by the contrast between cases where the action consists of motion from one place to another and rest in a place. Compare and contrast Skr પ્રાતાદાત્ પ્રેષણે which is interpreted psychologically as પ્રાતાદમારા પ્રેષણે and આસનારપ્રેષણે interpreted as આસને વપ્વિશ્ય પ્રેષણે (સ્વરૂપે કર્મણ્યવિકરણ ચ). Katyayana's *Vartika* on Panini, I 17 31). I suggest a contrast, because in પારીએથી and the like the object of inquiry is the termination થી and its original whereas in પ્રાતાદાત્ પ્રેષણે &c the inquiry is directed towards the idea which links the base with the termination. Nevertheless the adverbial nature of થી would favour the tracing from the conjunctive participle, in addition to the considerations mentioned already, viz., M. દો઱ન, H. પરમસરિ દોષ, Narsinha's આનદ ધર્દ અવતપ્તો. Instances like પગણી માધા લગી—&c, must be referred to a stage of evolution later than the adjectival stage and must not be treated as exceptions.

The adjectival થો-થી-યુ (and પકો-પકી-યું) may very well be compared to the Apabhramsa ablative in ફોન્તડ (confined no doubt to the pronoun), with this distinction that થો &c, are from the past participial forms while ફોન્તડ is from the present participle. I have already indicated my view that Hemachandra's treatment of this ફોન્તડ appendage (or rather want of its recognition by him)

is based on an obvious error, whereby he regards the really locative **દ્વા** as the ablative termination, ignoring the true ablative idea involved in **દોન્તા**, in instances like જાણ દોન્તા, તાણ દોન્તા.<sup>16</sup> I have also referred in that place in my article on the Gujarati Ablative Termination. I would only give here succinctly my reasons for differing from Hemachandra.

- (a) As already stated all his illustrations include **દોન્તા** invariably, and no instance is given without this **દોન્તા**,
- (b) Therefore, **દોન્તા** must be the essential factor for the ablative sense, and the **દ્વા** must carry some other significance viz. location,
- (c) Although જાણ, તાણ and the like are not given by Hemachandra as locative forms anywhere I believe **દ્વા** must have been a locative suffix, either as a case-termination or as giving the words જાણ, તાણ an *aryaya*-like position;
- (d) *Mugdhdvabodha Auktika* has જિદ્વા-તિદ્વા in the sense of પત્ર, તત્ત્વ,<sup>17</sup> and these forms are fully interperated in that work,<sup>18</sup>
- (e) Later literature of the sixteenth century of the Vikrama era also abounds in દ્વિદ્વા, જિદ્વા, તિદ્વા as locative indeclinables,<sup>19</sup>
- (f) Dr Tessitori who regards **દ્વા** as primarily ablative, losing the ablative sense and passing into the locative sense which misled scholars into believing it to be real locative,<sup>20</sup> admits nevertheless the locative significance of **દ્વા** in *S. He VIII* 1-355.
- (g) The ablative plur in Prakrit is formed by the suffixes દિન્તો and દન્તો (*S. He VIII*-iii 9) I conjecture that the Ap **દોતા** must be allied to these that દિન્તો (changed from

16. See *supra* p 85 note 55

17. P 16, col 8, last para, 11 2, 3

18. P 5, col 2, II 2, 3, p 4, col 2, 1 3, &c, &c

19. *Kanha lade Prabandha* I-105, III 24C, III-94, *Hari Lila*, Bhālana's *Kādambarī*, p 128, I 5, I 13, p 129, I 22, &c &c

20. 'Notes 61

हृन्ते) must have come from the pres. part. of श् and उन्तो from that of अश् (a possible postulated form).<sup>21</sup>

[In rare cases—in poetry—the ablative suffix पी is dropped:—

(a) शंकर छोडित थंध कि

(*Kānhaḍade-prabandha*, I. 246);

(b) मोया संकट छोडित तेह

(*Ibid.*, I. 251)

[वंधपी and संकटपी are intended here in (a) and (b) respectively.]

### The Locative Termination मां.

I now take the last termination left, मां (locative) in Gujarātī. We find the following state of things:—

Prākṛit proper (Mahārāshṭri) has ए or मिं (from Skr. स्मिन् for pronouns) for nouns ending in अ (*Si. He.* VIII-iii-11). I was at one time inclined to favour the probability of मां being derived from the latter, मिं. But I find a better derivation to be stated soon—

Apabhramśa has ए or इ for nouns ending in अ, to denote the locative case; जडे or जडि (*Si. He.* VIII-iv-84).

Mārkandeya (*Prākṛita-Sarvasva*, XVII-16 and 29) gives इं as well as ए for the locative case.

Dr. Tessitori ("Notes", § 74, (6)) gives for O. W. R. इं as the ablative termination and traces it backward thus: <महां <माझां Ap. मज्जङ्ग ablative of मज्जः. (i.e. taking the place of मप्पः). He shifts the case here from the ablative to the locative. But, in as much as he traces the ablative-locative इं from Skr. स्मात् (ablative) he could as well have traced Guj. मां from स्मात्.

Dr. Sir R. G. Bhāndārkar, ('Lectures', p. 261) derives G. मां from मध्य, मज्जः, माझ, माइ, loc. मांइ (इं being dropped).

21. Lassen, cited in Beames, II, p. 234, regards दिन्तो as a composition of इं (instr. plur. termination) and तथ् (Skr.) ablative particle, and उन्तो made by a mistake of उ (loc. plur. termination) with तथ् (Skr.); he further holds that the Hindū इंत and उंतो (ablative) resulted from the fusion of दिन्तो and उन्तो, and that इंत (H.) gave इन् (abl. suffix) to Marathi. All this is too ingenious and fanciful and therefore unconvincing.

I have (*supra* p 81, last three lines) traced मा from मध्य, through मञ्ज्ञ मस मह महा. I should prefer to modify this and come into line with Sir R G Bhandarkar only with this slight variation viz that माहि (loc of माह) changes its final ह to अ and we have माह,—yielding मा G eventually. This does away with the needless change from the ablative (मञ्ज्ञः) to the locative which Dr Tessitori resorts to.

What has happened to the ablative अत् (Skr e g , यृदात्) and to the genitive स्य has happened in the case of this isolated locative in मा viz , that the old Skr and Prakrit terminations got worn out or transferred and so a new analytical adjunct (मध्य-मञ्ज्ञ) stepped in and that, in its turn passed through a corrosive process and finally deposited मा as a synthetic suffix.

#### NOTE I

I have adopted the orthodox analysis of the dative suffix ने viz the genitive अ plus the *locative* ए. A better view however would be to regard the ए as instrumental of purpose or motive. Sanskrit has this idiom viz instrumental to denote purpose or motive अद्ययने वसति (See Panini II iii-23 and the illustrations thereof in the *Siddhānta kaumudi*). In fact my preference of this view is hinted above at p 156 in remarks concluding the treatment of ए instrumental agentive. The preference given to the locative source for निमित्तकह (माह) at p 377 in Vol I of these Lectures should be given up now. Closely examined behind this instrumental of purpose there is the idea of some verb like प्रयुक्त. Cf अप केन प्रयुक्तोऽप पाप चरति पूरुष (Bhagavadgītā III-35) where प्रयुक्त is used expressly.

#### NOTE II

At p 154 after 1 2 read the following —

A further indication is supplied by the personal dative forms महारे रहारे and the like (e g महारे चार रूपिया जोहेंगे) where the noun would be in ने (e g रामाने चार रूपिया जोहेंगे) Here the ए is clearly the genitive ए plus the ए (loc or instr ).

We shall now cast a hurried glance at certain individualizing peculiarities in the Gujarati language, grammatically and idiomatically.

There is a contrast between English and Gujarati in the syntactical arrangement in a sentence. The order of arrangement in an English sentence is -first the subject, then the verb, and last the object, dependent parts such as adverbs being placed at the end, thus —

"Gopāl" brought the horse here "

In Gujarati (as in H and M) the order will be -Subject, object, adverb, verb, thus —

ગોપાલ હોટો અદ્દી લાભ્યો.

A disregard of this distinction in idiom leads to incorrect arrangement in translation from one language into another. We frequently hear Englishmen saying એપર આભો બો હોટા, or Indians saying "Gopal brought back the horse" instead of "Gopal brought the horse back."

Sanskrit with its distinct inflections can afford to disarrange the syntactical order required in the vernaculars. We can say

राम सीता यने व्यसन्यत् or सीता यने व्यसन्यद् राम  
or यने रामो व्यसन्यद् सीताम् or सीता रामो व्यसन्यद् यने.

with equal correctness and without any danger of misunderstanding.

22 This applies to prose, in verso there is a wide latitude for altering the order. In Prose, too, emphasis alters the order thus — "You do not know how dearly I love him" (The adverb *how dearly* comes early in the order for the purpose of emphasis)

In Gujarati also emphasis alters the syntactical order —

1. વાંદ્યુ રદ્દે, રદ્દારાધી હુ વંચાયાનુ હતુ?

2. એનો હેલા હેલા, જોડ તો એરો કેવા સાઓણો

3. જા પાછો, where જા coming before પાછો marks anger or similar emotion. In (1) and (2) the change in the order marks a kind of sarcasm. Arrangement in the natural order will give quite a different idea, a bald statement.

Gujarāti has lost the forms of comparison so well known to Sanskrit, viz. the forms with the terminations

*The forms of comparison.* तर and तम् or द्युम् and द्यु. It adopts these

Sanskrit forms in *tatpama* words, but that is a mark of "classical", or sometimes pedantic style, and, in the case of *tadbhara* adjectives, the word वधारे (=more) is prefixed to show the comparative degree, and for the superlative degree a circumlocutory method is employed by using expressions like सहमां, सहधी or reduplicating the adjective as in द्युद्युमां द्युद्यु (=greatest) where the first word is an adjective used as a noun.

[English has *er* for the comparative degree and *est* for the superlative. Could the *er* be connected with the Skr. तर, and the *est* with the Skr. द्यु? This investigation is out of place in our treatment.]

**हमे-आपने** Gujarāti has two forms for the plural of the first personal pronoun each signifying a distinct concept

हमे = *We*, when the speaker *excludes* the addressee from the signification meaning "He (or they) and I", and आपने = *We*, when the speaker *includes* the addressee meaning "You and I."

[*Note* — This is not exclusively a Gujarāti peculiarity. Māravadi has this feature as pointed out by Dr. Tessitori.<sup>23</sup> According to an authority cited by Sir George Grierson<sup>24</sup> this double plural is a peculiarity of the Drāvidian (and also of the Mundā) dialects, though I imagine Kannarese, itself a Drāvidian language, will have to be excluded, for it has only one plural, नातु (=we), to express both the ideas.<sup>25</sup> What I wish to note is that

23 His "Notes", p. 4, item 6 under para. 2, (=Ind. Ant. Feb 1914, p. 24, item and para the same.)

24 *A Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency* an extract from which is quoted in Sir George's article on "Languages" in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* (New Edition), Vol. I. (A. D. 1907), p. 380

25 While I consulted a Kannarese friend on this point to verify

Gujarati is one of the few Indian languages which have this double plural. Sanskrit had व्यक्ति, Marathi<sup>26</sup> has आदी, Hindi has हम,

my personal knowledge, he drew my attention to Caldwell's work. The following extract therefrom is very suggestive —

"In all the Dravidian dialects, with the exception of Canarese, there are two plurals of the pronoun of the first person, of which one denotes, not only the party of the speaker, but also the party addressed, and may be called the plural inclusive, the other excludes the party addressed, and denotes only the party of the speaker, and may be called the plural exclusive. Thus, if a person said, 'We are mortal,' he would naturally use the 'we' which includes those who are spoken to as well as the speaker and his party, or the plural inclusive whilst he would use the plural exclusive, or that which excludes the party addressed, if he wanted to say, 'we are Hindus, you are Europeans'."

There is a similar distinction between the two plurals of the first person used in the Marathi and the Gujarati e.g. हमे in Gujarati, means we—the party speaking, whilst आपने means we—the party speaking, and you also who are addressed. There is no connection between the particular pronominal themes used for this purpose in Northern India and in the languages of the South, but the existence of so remarkable an idiom in the north Indian family, as well as in the southern, seems to demonstrate the existence, in the Northern family of an ancient under current of Dravidian, or at least of non Aryan influences. The idiom in question is a distinctively Scythian one, and is one of those points which seem to connect the Dravidian family with the Scythian group. There is no trace of this two fold plural in Sanskrit, or in any of the languages of the Indo-European family, but it is found every where in Central Asia. Thus Manchu has *mu*,—we-of the one party and *be*, we—the whole company. Mongolian has a similar idiom. This peculiarity is found also in the northern dialect of the Chinese. In that dialect, *tsa men*, we, includes the persons addressed, whilst *wo men*, we does not. It is remarkable that it is found also in the Polynesian languages, in many of the languages of America, and also in those of the Australian tribes."

(Caldwell's *Comparative Grammar of Dravidian Languages*, 2nd edition, 1875 A.D., pp. 308-9.)

The first edition, A.D., 1856, contains these same remarks.

26 Marathi Dictionaries (M into English and vice versa, Molesworth and Casely), however give आप्ति=we, and आप्ती=आदी, आप्ती.

Bangāli has आमरा, Sindhi has अहो, Panjabī has ਅਮ੍ਰਿਤੀ (Amritsar, Ambālā, Ferozepur) and ਅਸਤੀ<sup>27</sup> (Kāngde), to express both kinds of plural.]

[The Melanesian island of Annetom in its language has four kinds of numbers for the pronouns; singular, dual, trial, and plural, and, further, the first personal pronoun distinguishes in addition whether the person addressed is or is not included in the *we-two*, *we-three*, or *we-many* of the speaker. The same distinction is found in some American languages.<sup>28</sup>]

Thus this tendency for fine distinctions in this shape is prevalent in parts of the earth lying far apart, and several of them not connected by ethnic affinity. And yet, so far as Indian languages are concerned, and in contrast with English also, Gujarātī is one of the few exceptions in the matter of this feature of a double plural for the first personal pronoun.]

In Vol. I of the Lectures I have incidentally touched the question of accent in connection with the wide *Accent*. sound of ए and अ,<sup>29</sup> and again when discussing the so-called 'ellent'<sup>30</sup> अ, as also the ए ending of nouns.<sup>31</sup> I shall therefore deal with the subject here by way of supplementing and expanding those remarks. I have said that the exact scope and meaning of the Vedic accent is not clearly known, and that in dealing with the Indian vernaculars we recognise only the stress-accent.. I shall add :—

- (a) that the old Vedic accent, lost in Classical Sanskrit, was still further lost in the Prākṛits and our vernaculars;
- (b) that, nevertheless, this accent had an unperceived

The reason seems to be that आप्ति expresses the inclusive as well as the exclusive plural, while आप्ति is used for the inclusive plural alone but is rare.

27. LSI, vol. IX., Part I, pp. 136-7.

28. *Prolegomena to the Study of Hegel's Philosophy; especially of his Logic*, by William Wallace, M. A., LL.D., pp. 239-240.

29. Pp. 136-145 of Vol. I, also p. 280.

30. P. 207-9, 213 of the same volume.

31. P. 188 n. 47 of the same volume.

influence in Prakrit formations, e.g. the taking on of the ए termination and the shifting of the stress in certain grammatical changes e.g.

- (1) के termination has already been dealt with in Vol. I <sup>32</sup>
- (2) चाप्टी-चाप्टियो or चाप्टीओ,
- (3) चीतर्षु-चीतर्षु,

In (2) the shifting of accent from ए to ई alters the spelling from डियो to दीओ,

In (3) the accent is on ची in चीतर्षु but on ची and त both equibalanced in चीतर्षु (You cannot pronounce or use चीतर्षु which shows that the त must be accented),

- (c) that accent (in Gujarati) is dormant in spoken language but comes up under special conditions, as in the cases of instances noted in (b) just above,
- and (d) that the element of accent plays an important part in metrical composition

It is necessary to explain (d) at some length. In the first place it should be premised that metrical emphasis which is known as ताल (tala) is not identical with accent, though very much akin to it. For ताल (tala) is the emphasis on a syllable required by the rhythmic formation of a metrical line whereas accent is the inherent stress on a syllable in each word whether it be dormant or comparatively prominent. As a result of this minute distinction we find that if the metrical *tala* falls on an unaccented syllable the composition jars on the ear e.g.

- (1) नो एन्दर यैसीचो छे एन्यो आ

The *tala* on चो in यैसीचो falls on a decidedly unaccented syllable and is most unpleasant to the ear.

There are cases where the *tala* falling on an unaccented syllable does not jar, for instance the *tala* on त in ए-दर. In the above line, or

- (2) अ-रण त-रण आ ए-दर प-यो स-हु ज-गो स-ता लो-य,
- आ-व-स त-र्जी श-म द-उत द-ज स-र्जी द-र-से म-ू-र-यो श-ो-
- स-य द-र-य आ-म-से.

(3) जनहत्याक भग्न-उद्धारक उद्द्य उद्देय विद्यात,  
पार्व उपर्युक्त शुभ करतो.

(4) देयागुणे भरपूर भरी तुं यंत्र गर्वी गुजरात,  
वस्तन उपर्वन मन हरतां.

(5) उद्भव करतो दुख संहरतो प्रगटयो घर्मसमाज  
क्षेत्रा कर्त्तव्य लय करतो.

(6) तिमिर विद्वांरी कुत्रिस्त षट काटी प्रदीप्त करवा शन्य  
ज्योति सर्वां ज्यम विवनो.

(7) उदाचरणप्रतिपालन समये निथय धतुं निःशंक,  
एं ज वचन गुह उचरे.

(8) उज्ज्वल यंश पूर्वनो अधिक कर्तो धुतो दुरित सहु इयाम,  
अप्यम मति तज्जी घरमूळथी.

(All these instances are from Bhimsrāo Bholānāth's poem, entitled *Lārānyamayī*.) One or two more instances may be added:

(9) उत्तर संधेयुं कंद्रे रहस्य ऊँ ह अर्पवा काज  
तलैर्वी रहुं मन शुज मन घेणं.

(10) ते पर्वी भीतां अर्द्धं चरण तुज, स्वीकारय हुं उम्हुर  
स्मरणकुहमो कैँ दोँवा.

(*Nāpura-Zankāra, Vidyurānu Mdyādarśana*,  
st. 5, 6; Narsinhrao Bholanath)

Note here that *tāla* on र in तरण (instance (2)), on फ in सफल (instance (3)), on णे in गुण (instance (4)), on वी in गर्वी (instance (4)), on स in वसन (instance (4)), on ष in उपर्वन (instance (4)), on ल in कलह (instance (5)), on रिति in कुत्रिस्त (instance (6)), on च in वचन (instance (7)), on वं in पूर्वनो (instance (8)), on यि in अधिक (instance (8)), on फि in दुरित (instance (8)), on घ in अप्यम (instance (8)), on घ and ल (instances (9)), and on ट of चरण and स्मरण and मो of कुहमो (instance (10)). In all these the *tāla* falls either on an unaccented syllable or on a syllable with a subordinate or co-ordinate accent, and yet no *jaṭ* is felt. The reason for all this is subtle and yet clear. Still more prominent cases are of उद्देय where the *tāla* falls on ष in the first उद्देय and on द् on the second

उदय in instance (2), and still more in उदय उदय coming together in instance (3) with the *tāla* on the उ in the first उदय and on द in the second उदय. Closely examined, the द really possesses a minor accent because the word is composed of उद्+अय where the अ of अय is an accented syllable to a certain extent. It would take long to explain all the cases in detail.

It may be contended that all this discourse about accent and *tāla* is a slippery affair, for we find that in poetry very often the accent is shifted from where we find it in prose e.g.

- હતો હું હતો પાણે પુત્ર નહોનો

This in prose would be accented હતો હતો, પાણે The answer to this is —

(a) there is a confusion between *tāla* and accent, and (b) even if what is meant is that the *tāla* falls on unaccented syllables we have a clear precedent in the old Vedic practice of the shifting of the accent in *samhitā*<sup>33</sup> and *pada* texts. Our instance presents a similar case.

નાની કીની ને નાય ! ભક્તિ સ્થમારી

furnishes an instance where the *tāla* on ની, apparently on an unaccented syllable, is not only not jarring, but marks the emphasis of a negative strongly.

At p 66 of Vol. I of these Lectures, last para, I have said that Gujarati has not got the accentuation present in Hindi and Kāthiawādi Gujarāti. This in no way conflicts with what I have said about accent here and in my treatment of the 'silent' અ &c. For, in the former case I speak of accentuation, which is more like *emphasis* than the principle of accent. Besides the Kāthiawādi

33 The significance of the term *samhitā* is clearly shown here, *samhitā* meaning the putting together, uniting of the separate words पदपूर्ति પदिता (Rd. *Prātīskāhya*, n. 1), whether the first word is taken as a *satyapuruṣa* or a *bahuvrīhi* *samhitā*—Uvācī takes it as a *bahuvrīhi*—shows that *samhitā* signifies the relation between the two texts *pada* and *samhitā*. It seems therefore reasonable to discard the interpretation given by some scholars to the term *samhitā* whereby it is regarded as the collection of the several hymns together.

accentuation is coupled with a peculiar intonation, which gives it the nature of a pitch accent, as it were.

Gojarātī has two words to express the idea of negation which are mutually distinguishable, and yet may to whom नप्ती-नाहि Gojarātī is an required language fall into the ridiculous error of treating the two as identical or synonymous. Thus I have heard many Marāthā gentlemen say—त्वमें आवश्यके नप्ती? where नाहि must be used. The reason is this.—In Marāthī नाहिं stands for नाहि (G.) as also for नप्ती (G.) and the true derivation in each case is as under,—

1. नाहि (G.) = *no*; from Skr. नहि, Ap. नाहि.<sup>34</sup>

2. नप्ती (G.) = *is not*; from Skr. नास्ति, Pr. नत्यि.

3. नाहिं (M.) = *No*, a pure negative indeclinable; it comes from Skr. नहि, Ap. नाहि<sup>34</sup>

4. नाहिं (M.) = *is not* (lit. *not is*), is made up of M. न+आहे where आहे in the composition नाहे is altered to नाहिं by false analogy with नाहिं (indeclinable).

Parasi Gujarātī is acquainted with नप्ती, it uses नाहिं in its place: e. g. Parasi Goj. नाहिं आवतो, Hindu Goj. नप्ती आवतो.

[नप्ती is used in Sindhi in a peculiar manner; it is not an independent verb with a negative, न+नप्ती (अस्ति), but represents the mixture of the negative न with प्ती as the present tense third personal termination, attached to some main verb, and with the order transposed; as in अचेप्ती (*she comes*), नप्तीअचे (*she does not come*), where the प्ती is an adjectival form undergoing changes of gender and number (as in अचेप्तो = *he comes*, अचंपा = *they come*), प्ती being deriveable not from Skr. अस्ति Pr. अत्यि, but from Skr. स्थित, Pr. स्थिति, प्ति (Ap.)—प्तु.

Hindi has not got नप्ती (=नास्ति). It secures its purpose by the analytical नाहिं है.]

[The distinction in sense and usage between Gnj. नप्ती and नाहिं may be compared, to a certain extent, with Kan. इल्ल and अल्ल, and, to a certain extent with English 'not' and 'no'; Kan. इल्ल is always attached to verbs and means 'does not' while अल्ल is simply a

negative particle, meaning 'no'. Thus નોહુતાને = *He sees*; નોહુચદ્રિલું = *he does not see*. To the question આ હુહગનિંગે નોડિદ્રિ ? = *Did you see that boy ?*, the answer in the negative would be અલલ; ઇલ્લ would be wrong here, but correct in નાનુ નોડલિલ્લ = *I did not see. I do not know* the distinctive derivation of અલલ and ઇલ્લ, but there the usage is as stated.

Similarly in English—"He loves me, he loves me not;"—"Do you love him?" answer:—"No. 'Not' would be wrong here, but correct in "I love him not." (I do not love him). To trace this distinction in the derivation of the two words, *no* and *not* will, I am afraid, not help us much, for the idea of અસ્તિ (is) cannot be found in *not* which is composed of *ne* (=not)+*o* (=an, any)+*wiht* (=thing), and *no* is traced to *ne* (=not)+*o'* (=ayo, ever).]

Gujarati makes a peculiar distinction between ના and નહિ according to the relative position the word ના-નહિ occupies in a sentence, i. e. relative to the verb, which results in a modification of the sense and mood of the verb.

Thus:—

- (a) ના આવે }  
અને નહિ } = (he) may not come;
- (b) નહિ આવે }  
આવશે નહિ } = (he) will not come.

Note that આવે in (a) is in the subjunctive mood, while in (b) it is equivalent to the definite future tense. The position of નહિ before or after આવે determines this.

દે and દુષ્પણાં bear two different meanings in Gujarati, both of which meanings are expressed by the single word *now* in English.

દે refers back to an event or action that has preceded the one with which its idea is directly connected, the chain being="this being so, or this having occurred, now you can do this." e. g.

દાર્શની ઘાપ, દે તો જાઓ. (the day has broken, wake up now).

દુષ્પણાં refers to the actual time of action with which its idea is

concerned, and sheds its light on an action which is to follow. e.g.

1. એહ હમણા ખાયું (I dined just now)

2. હમણા હું યહુ કામમા હું, એડીક રહીને આવજો=I am very busy now, come after some time (literally, one *ghat* later)

Thus distinction between એવે and હમણા results from their several derivations

હમણા is from Skr. અધુના (અધુના Pr),—which corresponds to *now<sup>35</sup>* in English, and which has both the meanings (that of Guj. એવે as well as હમણા); but in Gujarati હમણા has lost one meaning (that of એવે) and retains the other only (that of 'at present').

એવે comes from એવૈ (Ap) which, I believe, can be explained thus—આદ્વાય (loc. of આદ્વાય=like this), the sense being "it being thus," which clearly connects the action with a past event

Marathi આતા=now covers both meanings (એવે and હમણા), સથ and એવૈં are used in the single sense of હમણા. Hindi અથ-અવી also have the twofold meaning, so also Sindhi હાણે (traceable to Skr. અધુના) and Kshareeo હાંગ.

The negative prefixes ન and અણ, used in Gujarati compounds ના and અણ, as negative prefixes, show the following features

- (a) While Sanskrit has અ as the पूर्वपद of a compound, Gujarati has ન, e.g. નવાપો, નગુણો, નકામો, and the like,
- (b) While, in Sanskrit, this અ when followed by a vowel takes the ágama ન् (as અરુદ્રાર, અનર્થ and the like), and remains as અ before consonants (અકાલ, અમાવ &c.), Gujarati has અણ (coming from Skr. અન) even before

35 Now (English) traced to *nu* (AS, OS, O, MLG, OHG, MHG, GOTH) is connected with *nōw* which, again, is related to Lat *nowus* (Skr નવ) This points to the common idea underlying "now" and 'now,' what comes after 'now' being necessarily "now" with reference to what has gone before, and thus primarily, it would seem, the sense of એવે is an earlier one than that of હમણા which must have developed under changed conditions, *then* and *now* would point to the same primary sense of *now*

consonants; e. g. અણગમણું, અણદીનું, અણચિંતણું, અણધારું, અણમાનીતી, અણજાણું, અણમન્યો, અણદોહી, et ca.. This last feature had its full sway in Prákrit and Apabhraṣṭa; અણતુચ્છ, અણદ્વાર, અણકુદિઅ, અણવેશ, અણમુક્ખ, <sup>36</sup> &ca..

It will be noticed that in these Gujarātī compounds, while ન is used in the case of *bahuvrihi* compounds, અણ comes in when the compounds are *tatpurusha*. નદ્વો, traceable to Skr. નિર્બંધ, may furnish a clue to the guess that this ન in Gujarātī *bahuvrihi* is not from Skr. ન but from Skr. નિસ्-નિર.

Gujarātī (in common with M., H., S.) employs otherwise auxiliary verbs used to signify special features added to the action of the main verbs, to signify certain special features added to the idea conveyed by the main verb,—a function exercised in English by indeclinables like "away", "off", and the like. The following examples will illustrate <sup>37</sup> my meaning :—

કહી દેણું, નહાગી જરૂરું, બોલી જરૂરું, પકડી પાડું, લાલી નાલાંદું, લાટી વાંદું, મોકલી વાંદું, કારી મૂરું, મૂકી લાંદું &ca..

[There is in Bombay Gujarātī an expression in વોનું which apparently falls under this head, but is composed of the wrong auxiliary verb. It is the expression મોકલી આપું. The correct expression would be મોકલી દેણું. The analysis and history of this Bombay usage is interesting. In the first place, Gujarātī proper has આપું (Skr. અપ्, Pr. આપ્) to express the sense of દા Skr.=to give. દા (Guj. આપ) bears the sense which implies a transference of ownership; સ્વરૂપનિર્ગુર્વં પરસ્તાતોરપત્રાલોકાપારો દાનમ् is the definition of the action of દા. Gujarātī proper uses દે (દેણું) under exceptional idiom-conditions, e. g. ફાન્યા દેરો ("મંગી અપીણી દેખી દોય, કંયા દેને ના દે કોય"—*Dalapstram*); <sup>38</sup> ગાંઠો દેવી, જગચ દેવો,

36. A glance at the index of Prákrit words at the end of *Kumārapālī-charita*, edited by S. P. Pandit, will show the large number of instances of this kind. I have culled out the above instances from that index.

37. These expressions may be approximately rendered into English as under:—

કહી દેણું=to go and tell (a secret);

द्वाप देवो, चयियो देवो, भावो देवो, and the like, where देवो has a metaphorical sense of giving, not an actual handing over of goods, or of an article.

Now, Kāthiāvādi Gujarāti possesses the root दे (देवु) only, in all cases, i. e. that of transference of ownership as well as metaphorical giving, it does not possess the root आपु, thus, a Kāthiāvādi Gujarāti will say भीखारी चार पेसा दीपा, where a Gujarāti Gujarāti will say भीखारीने चार पेसा आप्या. Now, finding that देवु was a Kāthiāvādi usage for आप्यु the Kāthiāvādi migrants to Bomhay, such as Bhātias, Memons, Luhānās, and others, turned the auxiliary देवु in मोरली देवु into आप्यु with a desire to use a pure Gujarāti expression, and in so doing stumbled, for आप्यु here does not serve the minor part of an auxiliary verb. (It would do so in दाखी आप्यु, where आप्यु is not actual handing over, in दाखीने आप्यु it would be "handing over," and hence आप्यु would not be an auxiliary verb there). This is the analysis and genesis of the usage मोकळी आप्यु which is found creeping into numerous newspapers, magazines and writings of even reputed authors who are all the same careless in this matter.

[Marathi, like Kāthiāvādi Gujarāti, possesses देणे only, and consequently many a Marātha is heard saying गाळो आपी (=M.

गाळी जावु=to run away,

योली जावु=to repeat, to recite (fluently),

पकडी पाठवु=to overtake,

दाखी नासवु=to write and finish,

दाखी वाळवु=to write by way of reply,

माटी वाळवु=to settle (as a dispute),

पाढी मुरवु=to turn out, to drive away,

मूकी छाडवु=to keep safe, well protected,

गाळो देवी=to abuse,

जयाव देवो=to reply,

द्वाप देवो=to impress a brand mark,

चयियो देवो=to sew with fine stitches of a particular kind,

भावो देवो=to treat with milk certain kinds of flour, before making sweets out of them

શીખા દિલ્યા) in Gujarātī for ગાંઠો દીધી. This is also heard in the Gujarātī spoken by Bombay Bhātiās and others. The position of દે in this case is not of an auxiliary verb, but a principal verb, wherein idiomatic usage employs દેવું in a metaphorical sense.]

[Kanarese sometime repeats the root to express the effect of the auxiliary verb of this kind, e. g. વિદુ વિદુ=છોઢી દે (leave off.)—where વિદુ is the conjunctive participle of વિદુ (=to leave), and વિદુ is the imperative second person singular.]

I have before<sup>38</sup> incidentally spoken of double-barrelled વાસણકુસળાદિ ગણ words peculiar to Gujarātī. I focus them here under the term વાસણકુસળાદિ ગણ. They are to be distinguished from the duplicate words like ગાયચાય, ઘોડોરોડો, where the second member is formed by jingling the first member by tacking on the same word with ક substituted for the first consonant; (where the first member begins with ક the duplicate is formed by substituting ક for ક e. g. ચરકી ફરકી, બારી ફારી), Marāthi resorts to this trick but instead of ક + the vowel of the first syllable in the second member it puts કિ for the first syllable of the first member; e. g. ઘોડાચીટા, દ્વાતરીત etc.. Hindi resorts to ખ for ક; e. g. ઘોડામોડા. These duplicate forms convey the idea of "or the like," ઘોડોરોડો=a horse or the like; whereas the વાસણકુસળ class conveys a different idea, the idea of "et cetera." ઓસટવેસટ and ઓસટવોસટ will furnish a good illustration of the distinction: ઓસટવેસટ would mean drugs, nursing &c.; while ઓસટવોસટ would indicate drugs or the like; e. g.

(1). એ માંડો છે, તો ઓસટવેસટ કાંઈ કરોડો?

(2). મારો માઈ માંડો છે, હેં ઓસટવેસટ મારી જેણ અને મારી મળીને કરેણે;

The words coming under this વાસણકુસળાદિ ગણ can be classified under the following heads:—

- (a) Words with the second member meaningless;
- (b) Words with the first member meaningless;

(a) Words in which both the members possess a meaning.

The following come under class (a):—

वासणकूसण	ओषद्वेसड	साफसूफ
दोरढांखर	दाणोदूणो	ताणीतूशीने
बीडीकूँछी	छाँडमानुं	चूपचाप
माणसकूणस	वांडुचूकुं	नहुंसदुं
कोळीनाळी	पद्मणापाई	प्रादेश्वपटे
खालीपोली	अरिटीसर्पिनी	द्वारांलत्तां
दोसांडगरां	ओळखीतुंपाळखीतुं	गीळठाक
देश दैया	पूळगाढ	दांकाढुमा
आंटीघूंटी	तिपाईसपरां	वातचीत

The following words come under class (b):—

अल्लाखिला
आसपास
आजूनाज
आडोशीपादोशी
आरपार

It will be observed that in this class the first member is but a rhyming member with the second one, the initial syllable being the vowel अ with its variations in आ, ओ and the like, in response to the first vowel in the second member.

The following words come under class (c):—

राचत्तीछुं	अडीर्मिती	छाँडुचपत्ते
मालमता	न्हाँडुसद्तं	फेरोक्कांदो
जणसभाव	पूळपराड	पूळचूप
जीवजंत	सुँडुसुंड	नोकरनकर
जनजनावर	गलीगंची	गरीबगुरवां

In some cases, the meaning would require to be stated:

रच्छुं=arranged (things), रच् to arrange;

भाव=an object, a thing;

जत from जांतु;

जन from जांतु;

અદીઅર્પટી-અદી રહેલી, અટકી રાખનારી અર્પટી (from આપત્તિ) = અદુદ્ધણ;

સ્થું-from સ્થથણ through સંદ (see Vol. I of theseo Lectures, pp. 82-83, n. 27).

પરછ from પૃથ્ર (Skr.),

સુંદસુંદ from શન્ય+સુંદ,

ગુંઠી from ગુંઠ, hence entanglement,

દુરદું from દૂર (Guj) to remain concealed

ફાટો lit. a branch, hence going off the road.

ગૂપ from ગૃહ most probably.

નસ્તરા- a servant (Pers.)

ગુર્ખા (Arabic) plural of ગરીબ, the final ભા gets on *anusvāra* in Gujarātī ગુર્ખા.

I now deal with an important matter in connection with the *Spelling Reform* history of Gujarātī language, its importance being rooted in the phonetic history of Gujarātī words. I allude to the system of spelling employed in Gujarātī works from time to time and the movements started with a view to reform the unsettled system of Gujarātī spelling. The fact that the subject derives its vitality from the principles discussed in the foregoing lectures is my apology for linking this subject here.

It is well known that in olden times the spelling of words was not systematized on accurate lines, though *Spelling-system, its history* it must be admitted that no sound was kept without a symbol, crude or otherwise. Thus, for instance, the aspirate sound in actual speech was represented in some way or other, whether its location was exact or not, e. g. ઘાસાં, ઘેણું, તેણું, આપણે, મેણેણી etc. The quantity (as tested by the metre) in such cases distinctly shows that the intended form was ઘાસાં, ઘેણું, તેણું રેણી etc.. In fact in some cases રેણી, રેણાં, are found side by side with તેણે (see the passage from Dayaram's commentary on his *Sat Sāryā* cited in theseo Lectures, Vol I, P. 18). This crude but honest method lasted upto the

conclusion of the nineteenth century of the Vikrama era. On the introduction of regular education by the State, during the tenure of the Board of Education the aspirate was correctly represented as in દ્વેન, દ્વેણું and the like, અદ્રો, તદ્રો was also the form then adopted. The first Gujarati monthly magazine, the *Buddhi pralásá*, in its first number (A. D 1850) wrote યદ્રમ, ન્ધોટી, આલ્યો and the like, although it also wrote ભણા, ધામ &c. for ભણ્યા, ધાય &c.

In 1859 Mr. Howard as the head of the Educational Department appointed a Committee to settle the system of spelling, but it bore no results <sup>39</sup>. In the same year T. C. Hope (Educational Inspector) with the help of his Deputies, drew up a set of rules of spelling, which were adopted in the school series. Narmadâsankara Kavi, in his *Narma-vyâkharana*, part I, in 1865 A. D., pp 27 ff. fixed certain rules of spelling, rule 8 in which recommends the એ as the second member of a conjunct e.g. ન્ધારું, ન્ધાને, ર્ધે, ન્ધાર, ન્ધારં etc., at the same time running into absurdities like એદ્રું, એદ્રું, forgetting that a vowel cannot possibly be a half member in a conjunct. Later on he seems to have abandoned this absurd symbol. Several of his rules are, no doubt, cruds and open to correction. When in 1869 A. D. he began to revise his Dictionary, published in several parts between 1861 and 1866, and the *Narmalosá* appeared in a complete form in 1873, he laid down in his Introduction a set of revised rules of spelling. These were on improved lines, and yet disclosed faulty observation and conclusions. He has recognised the presence of એ in words like ન્ધારું &c. cited above, also the wide sound of એ and ઓ, and several other features. The noteworthy fact is that throughout all these attempts, the correct principle of *writing as we speak*, in other words *phonetic spelling*, is recognized as a goal, although its application has not always been successful or correct.

In 1871-72 A. D. the Book Committee of the Educational Department framed a set of rules for spelling. Although faulty and imperfect in several respects, these rules recognized the principle that words should be spelt as they are pronounced in the

39. I get this information from *Narma vyâkharana*, part I, (A. D 1865), p. 27, note

greater part of Gujarāt. The most ironical fact however, was that these rules were not followed even in the school books published by the Department. A humble village school master named Purshottam Mugataram drew up a statement showing where the seventh book contained inconsistent spelling. Dr (then Mr.) Bühler directed Navalarām Lakshmīrām to set right the errors. Finding the subject a large and difficult one, Navalarām wrote an elaborate and thoughtful discussion on the whole question <sup>40</sup>. In spite of all these attempts at systematization the spelling even in the books of the Educational Department did not follow these rules, and a number of incorrect representation of words marred the literature of those years.

This state of things continued for nearly sixteen years since then, when in 1888 A. D. I published a *A fresh note of dissent from outside* pamphlet on the system of Gujarātī spelling, contending for the adoption of phonetic spelling on correct lines of philology and the evolution of the Gujarātī language. I need not dilate on the discussion, but would simply note down the points I advocated —

- (a) The recognition of એ in words like એન, એંટ, એમે, એરો &c where the existing practice adopted એન, નાંટ, અમે, એરો &c although the એ was heard in spoken language, and was etymologically correct.
- (b) The recognition of the wide sound of અ and અા.
- (c) The recognition of the soft (લાલુપ્રયત્ન) એટાર, as in આલ્ય (=the eye), આલ્ય (imperative)=come.

These views of mine created a certain amount of stir at the time, some opposing the proposals as "innovations" of a revolutionary nature. With a view to authoritative acceptance I addressed a letter in January 1888 to the Director of Public Instruction sending to him a copy of my pamphlet and suggesting a practical consideration of the subject. No immediate results came from this. But a silent working of new forces was created

40 See *Narala Granthdals*, III, pp. 6 to 33.

and several writers instinctively began to adopt more or less the spelling I advocated.

Two well-known scholars made a move in this matter a few years later. Rao Bahadur (then Mr.) Keshavalal H. Strayefforts at settling the question of spelling. Dhrnva framed, in 1893, a set of rules for deciding the spelling of words in a Dictionary undertaken by two Parsi scholars. These

rules agreed with some of my minor suggestions, but regarding the aspirate ઝ in words like ઝેણ, ઝોંડ &c., they were silent; they however recognised the wide એ and એ. Then in 1896 A. D. the late Govardhanram M. Tripathi proposed, in the pages of *Samâlochaka* (a quarterly journal), a set of rules for fixing the spelling of Gujarâti words. These proposals were criticized by me at the time, as leaving the subject in an unsettled state.

About the same time the Gujarat Vernacular Society of Ahmedabad, at the instance of the Director of Public Instruction (who was desirous to secure a list of words correctly spelt for adoption, if acceptable, in the departmental books) appointed a Committee for making proposals, but this bore no fruit. The Gujarat Vernacular Society made another minor effort, with equal fruitlessness.

Seven years thereafter, in 1901 A. D., the revision of the

Action taken by the Educational Department. Departmental school series was taken in hand, and in that connection I wrote officially to the President of the Revision Committee advocating the proposals for reform made by me

already. The Committee made certain "tentative" rules which were obviously defective and unscientific. I wrote again pointing out these defects. The Committee made some minor improvements but left the rules in an unsatisfactory state as regards main points. These rules evoked criticism from one or two persons in certain magazines but nothing came out of it.

There the matter rested. Finally in July 1905 the First Gujarâti Literary Conference met at Ahmedabad, when I presented a long paper on the subject of Spelling Reform, and a Committee

was appointed by the Conference to investigate the question and submit proposals to the next conference. This Committee did very little work for nearly six years but in 1912 A. D. it submitted its Report and Recommendations to the Fourth Gujarātī Literary Conference. These were conceived in a spirit of compromise, but left a good deal to the option of individual scholars. The Conference passed a resolution noting and recording the report of the Committee on Spelling Reform.<sup>41</sup> Naturally no such resolution would be binding on any individual. But this much is clear that, in spite of the protracted controversy on this vexed question, carried on in various Gujarātī magazines by persons qualified or unqualified to deal with the subject, there has been a more or less widely prevalent tendency amongst Gujarātī writers to adopt phonetic spelling based on philological foundations. The subject still continues to divide writers into different camps. It is difficult to peep into the future and predict what final solution will be arrived at by the majority of expert thinkers on this subject. But this outlook is not such as to cause any fears that the principles of a scientific and scholarly study of the question will suffer at the hands of persons not qualified to handle the subject.

I close my fifth lecture here.



### *Supplement to Lecture V, Section II.*

#### *I. P. 158 થો, એકો*

The following may be cited as an instance of થો (થો) used adjectivally —

( ૧ ) તમ આગદ્ધથો જાંદ્ય સહી

(Premānanda, *Subhadrā harana*, I. 800)

થો here qualifies દ્વા.

( ૨ ) જતી મદ્દ જે દૂર પેંગે જમલે થો જાણે નહીં

જમલે થો= પાસે રહેલો ( સિપત્ર ).

(Bhramara Gita by Brahadeva, V. S. 1609.)

41. See Report of the Fourth Gujarātī Sahitya Parishad, p. 72.

(3) तिहा था जाज्यो एकि ठापि

(*Kānhadade-prabandha*, IV-78)

(4) जां हिंदूया विमणा थर

(*Ibid*, IV-110)

Another adjectival variant is पिंग्, e. g.

दल उपव्यां रहुदि पिंग्

(*Kānhadade-Prabandha*, III-147.)

I a. P. 158 After उपरि पिंग् &c. add —

दया योनी दंदा रे लौकिक थका शाने दजो?

(*Dayārām, Kālīya Sangraha*-Gujarati Press Edition, p. 256).

II. *Supplement to Lecture V, Section I.*

Add at the end —

Page 118, n. 98.

This के—के has its precursor in *Kānhadade-prabandha* (V. S. 1512).—

(१) भेट भेटि कह मिलवा आरे कह उत्तारथ दाखे

(I-115)

(२) कह सोनमिह पालहु प्राणि कह अद्य आयुष नाशु

(II-77)

(३) कह अद्य आदी करे सिड्धम कह प्राणि छाविष वास

(III-8)

(४) कह कुंयर धीरमदे धर्म आभतात ! कह नधि मर्हं

(५) कह मर्हं मन्मथ दृभयु कह हुं निरुणनारी

(III-128)

III. Page 144.

(a) The lengthening of the अ into आ in the vocative singular is found in old Gujarati poets, and dates as far back as Narasinha Mehto. Thus —

(१) जाग रे जादवा शृण गोगाक्षिपा

(*Bhakti-jñāna-nū-poda*, 14, l. 1)

(२) उठय उताप्लो, चाल्य नि विद्वला

(*Ibid*, *poda* 17, l. 1)

(३) पवन तु पाणी हुं भूमि हुं भूधरा

(*Ibid*, *poda* 40, l. 3.)

Dayārām has —

(४) भतिधी हीन हुं दीन दामोदरा.

(५) भेटो नी भूधरा रंक जाणी नहो

(*Niti Bhakti-nū-poda*; 239).

I believe this feature was a remnant of the Apahramśa idiom, which stuck to Marāthī all along, but was lost in Gujarātī, till it was revived in modern times in poetry (not as an Apahramśa trait, but distinctly as an imitation of the Marāthī idiom), probably about the time when Bholānāth Sārāhāi wrote his *Prārthana mālā*. It appears to have been an attractive factor in poetic composition.

IV. Page 147, after the 3rd line add (in a separate para)—

A peculiar use of the dative form in ने is found in Premānanda, where ०ने is equivalent to ०ने माटे, ०ने अँडे, e. g.

तेमाटे तेने तेहो वीर भोजनने लावो मंदिर

(*Subhadra harana*, l. 890.)

भोजनने=भोजनने माटे.

This idiom is repeatedly used in this poem in a number of places, a few more instances may be given

माटे तो तेने तेहो भोजनने घर मांड

(l. 451)

तम पासे रातो सेवाने हुं दास रे  
(l. 1517)

भोजन ब्रात भिक्षाने लाविया  
(l. 1571)

अर्जुन मृगयाने गपा  
(l. 1629)

V. Page 137, under XIII add—

कूरक पूर, तटी पापदी

(*Kānhadade-prabandha*, IV. 49)

पूरनो पूर (दगलो) is the sense here.

VI. Page 112, after (m) etc add—

ऐपण भणी पणी दफ्फद

(*Kānhadade-prabandha*, IV-86)

VII. Page 118, under अङ्ग add—

(h)-1. अहा पणी परि करियो जाण

(IV-87)

(h)-2. अम तजी गयो रे धूरत शावियाळो देख

(Narasinhji Mehta, *Rasa Sahasrapadi*, pada 54, st. 7.)

VIII. Page 118 under हेज add—

(g) जेह उपरि शाहा मनि हेज

(*Kānhadade-prabandha*, II-16)

## LECTURE VI.

*A Historical Sketch of Gujarati Literature.*

Having gone over the course of evolution through which the

*When did Gujarati language begin?* Gujarati language passed during the last several centuries, we now turn to the history of Gujarati literature. It may at once be stated

at the outset that we need not begin with the early Apabhramsha period, as I do not hold the unjustifiable theory that it represented early Gujarati language. The survey we have taken in the last lecture ought to satisfy us that even the language of the fifteenth century of the Vikrama era cannot be called Gujarati without an undue wrench, much less could we give that name to the earlier specimens unless you are indifferent to the significance of a name, and would, with Shakespeare's hero in *Romeo and Juliet* plead—"What's in a name?". I do not suppose you can call the following piece a specimen of Gujarati:—

जिणि कारणि चतुर्दश पूर्वपर चतुर्दश पूर्वसंबंधित द्यातुं परित्यजित पंच-  
परमेष्ठि नमस्कार स्मरणु तड विशेषि स्मरेवड अनइ परमेष्ठरि सीर्पंकरदेवि इसउ-  
अर्थं भणियड अलइ अनइ संसारतणड प्रतिप्रतिभउ मकारिसउ अनइ अद्विनम-  
स्कार इद्वलोकि संपादियइ ।

(*Alayana*—Prakrit translation; V. S. 1330;

Mr. Chimanlal D. Dahl's Paper, p. 39).

Or, take a specimen from the close of the fifteenth century (Vikrama era):—

संस्कृत कन्दलि पूली विशेष अर्थतुं प्रदण करिवड । जे भव्य जीव उद्द तेह-  
नर्द ए संघरणितुं विचार कहतां कर्मधय होइ तेहतणइ भव्य जीवइ ए विचार  
जोइतुं जाणिहुं जिम ते भव्यजीवनइ अद्वित्तिह द्योइ ।

(*Sangrahan-Baldabodha* V. S. 1497;

Mr. C. D. Dalal's Paper, p. 41)

We see here that in spite of तुं (genitive termination), जे, पूली (=पूळीने), which are features of later Gujarati, the rest of the extract possesses the pre-Gujarati characteristics,—उद्द, तेहनइ, कन्दलि, करिवड, &c. &c. Can you rightly call this a specimen of the Gujarati language?

Taking from internal characteristics as an evidentiary factor,

let us consider the light thrown by external

*External evidence* facts in the evidence furnished by history and

the accounts of travellers. The language

would acquire the name of *Gujardti* surely after the country  
acquired the name *Gujardt* and not before. I should say long after  
for the name would take some time in establishing itself and the  
literature and language to assume the name after the country would  
naturally take a little more time the conditions of name acquisition  
are inherently such. Or even if the acquisition be comparatively  
sudden its establishment will necessarily take some time to secure  
currency for the name. If therefore Marco Polo (A.D. 1254-1324)  
mentions *Gujarat* in his travels all we can infer is that the  
country had acquired this name in the thirteenth century A.D.  
and we cannot necessarily conclude that the language was known  
as *Gujardti*. The evidence as regards a common language prevail-  
ing over *Gujarat* and *Rajputana* upto the sixteenth century A.D.  
is so conclusive and convincing evidence viz. in the shape of old  
literature in *Gujarat* and *Marvad* (the latter of these being care-  
fully studied by Dr. Tessitori) that we cannot imagine the  
distinctive name of *Gujardti* being given to that language in those  
early centuries of Marco Polo's travels. As is well known *Narapatha*  
*Mehtā* who flourished from A.D. 1415 to 1481 never calls the  
language by the name *Gujardti* his name for it is અપદ્ર ગિરા<sup>1</sup>.

The Collection of Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions published  
by the Bhavnagar Archaeological Department gives at p. 123 at the  
end of a long Sanskrit Inscription (No. IX in the collection) a  
vernacular summary of the same. The Inscription pertains to  
*Ekalingaji* near Udeypore in *Mewar*. It is dated Samvat 1545.  
The vernacular summary possesses linguistic features peculiar to  
O. W. *Rajasthani* only one word ચાંદ્ય (I. 618) has the  
appearance of *Gujarati*. But the most significant fact about this  
vernacular summary is that in its opening Sanskrit stanza the

1 અપદ્ર ગિરા વિરા કાન્દ્ય કેદુ દીસે

(*Surata Sangrāma*, pada 72, st. 2)

writer says that he has translated the original into "देवभाषा" (i. e. the vernacular), and he does not give any specific name to this *desa-bhāshā*.

Padmanābh in his *Kāñchadade-prabandha* (V. S. 1512) calls his language *Prākṛita*.<sup>2</sup>

Bhālāna calls the language of his works by the name अपचंश as also गुजरभाषा.<sup>3</sup> This, however, is not the same thing as the distinctive name of Gujarāti.

Thus, nowhere in the early centuries before V. S. 1750 do we find *Gujarāti* as the name for the language of Gujarāt. And no wonder, for, as we have seen in the last lecture, the morphology of the language was still that of the later Apabhramśa, of course evolved into further developments, rather than that of modern Gujarāti, and provincial distinction was rendered impossible by the fact that this later Apabhramśa was still prevalent throughout Gujarāt, Kāṭhīawād, and Rājasthāna.

This being the case, we need not wonder at the fact that the first mention of the language as *Gujarāti* is found in 1731 A. D. by the Berlin Librarian La Croze.<sup>4</sup> I recognize that this is European mention. But in the absence of any indigenous statement<sup>5</sup> we need not object to a foreign account especially as outsiders would be more likely to connect the name of a language with that of the province in which it is spoken, than speakers of the language themselves. In these circumstances, it is rather difficult to reconcile ourselves to Sir George Grierson's view that Gujarāti language

2. प्राकृतचंप कवितमति करी.

3. See *supra* pp. 9-10.

4. LSI, IX, part II, p. 333.

5. Premīnanda calls the language *Gajardī* in one place:

तृदे अपनी माहारे अभिलाषा  
पांच नागदमण गुजरातीभाषा

(*Dāsama-sandha*, *Adhyāya* 16, *Kādāvā* 54).

The exact date of this work *Dāsama-sandha* is uncertain, but it was sometime after 1700 A. D. This fits in well with La Croze's mention in 1731 A. D.

*The opinions of Sir George Grierson and H. H. Dhruva dissent from*

and literature flourished over 900 years ago.<sup>6</sup> Much more difficult to swallow is H. H. Dhruva's assertion that Sir George Grierson considers the earliest date of Gujarātī to be about 730 A. D.<sup>7</sup>—an opinion for which H.

H. Dhruva refers us to Sir George's paper on "*The Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustan*", p. 1. Sir George's paper herein referred to is printed as Part I of J. A. S. Beng. (A. D. 1888), as H. H. Dhruva himself informs us elsewhere.<sup>8</sup> I look at this reference, and what do I find? It simply mentions the

6. *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, new edition, Vol I (1907 A. D.), p. 368, "Gujarātī Language", where he says —

"Owing to the survival of a number of ancient grammars, we have a connected history of the language from the time when it first came into existence as a modern Indo-Aryan Vernacular some nine hundred years ago." (The italics are mine).

Again at P. 430 of the same Gazetteer Sir George says —

"Gujarātī has an old literature dating from the fourteenth century which has been little explored. The oldest writers dealt with philology."

Most probably Sir George has in his mind the *Mugdhdvabodha Auktika* (V. S. 1450) as he seems to allude to it in LSI, IX, part II, p. 327. Obviously he misnames the language as Gujarātī.

7. See H. H. Dhruva's paper on "Rise of the Drama" in the *Transactions of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists*, Vol I, p. 300, footnote, 1.

H. H. Dhruva's footnote runs thus — "Mr Grierson mentions the earliest Hindi works to be those of Pushya Kavi. He says that I consider the earliest date of Gujarātī to be about 730 A. C. (vide the "Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustan," p. 1)."

Now, this note is a puzzle to me, for p. 1 of Grierson's work here mentioned says nothing as to H. H. Dhruva or his views. And what is said is about Pushya Kavi, and his date is given as 713 A. D. — not 730. If the word 'I' in "He says that I consider" is had English for 'he' (meaning Grierson), even then no such view is expressed by Sir George Grierson at this place. I leave the tangle as it is, and I start on the assumption that H. H. Dhruva meant 'he' by 'I'.

8. *Transactions of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists*, p. 298, last para.

statements in *Sid-singh Surej* that one, Pashya Kavi flourished in 713 A. D.,<sup>9</sup> that he wrote both in Sanskrit and in the vernacular, and that he is mentioned in Tod's *Rājasthāna*, and mark thus—Sir George comments on this as below:—

"If by vernacular we are to understand a stage of language later than that of the Prākrits, this seems a most improbable statement, nor can I find that it is borne out by Tod. The only allusion apparently bearing on this point in the *Rājasthāna* is a reference (i. 229, Calcutta edition, i. 240) to a Pashya the author of an inscription (translated i. 799). I can find no mention in Tod regarding the language in which he wrote."

How H. H. Dhruva reads in this a statement by Sir George Grierson that Gujarāti flourished in 713 A. D. passes comprehension. It may be noted incidentally, that Sir George's paper confines itself to the vernacular literature of *Upper India* (which is apparently the meaning of *Hidastān*) and he could not have dreamt of Gujarāti in this connection at all.

Perhaps H. H. Dhruva builds his theory on his opinion that Gujarāti had a wide prevalence embracing perhaps Mālvā and Rajputānā.<sup>10</sup> But surely this range of the language belonged to the O. W. Rāj in the centuries following the fourteenth century (A. D.), upto the sixteenth century, and certainly not to the language of the early period about 713 A. D. when only the Prākrits held sway. It is preposterous to say that the language then spoken was Gujarāti. One might as well say, that the language spoken during the Vedic period was Gujarāti.

In another place, H. H. Dhruva regards Gujarāti to be as old as V. S. 802 (= A. D. 746<sup>11</sup>). This claim for such great

9 730 is evidently a slip on H. H. Dhruva's part.

10 See Appendix to H. H. Dhruva's edition of the *Mugdhabodha Aulikā*, p 5, Vol 2, latter half.

11 See his paper on "The Neo-Vernaculars of Western India" read before the Eighth International Congress of Orientalists, held at Christiania on 10th September 1889.

antiquity is based on the following inscription found below the image of Ganapati at Anahilvāda Patana —

સંવત् ૮૦૨ વર્ષે ચૈત્રશુદ્ધિ ૨ શુક્ર અણદિલ્વાદી પાટનિ વણરાજ રાડની ઉમામહેશ્વર સ્થાપના છદ્ર ૧૨

H H Dhruva gives a variation of this inscription, though how there could be a variation we cannot ascertain. It runs thus — શ્રીવણરાજરાડની અણદિલ્વાદી પાટનિ ઉમામહેશ્વર સ્થાપના છદ્ર ત્રિ સ ૮૦૨ ૧૩

I may at once state that this inscription and its similar proto types found at Patana have been exposed as forgeries by expert opinion both on epigraphical and linguistic anachronisms ૧૪. You have just to imagine the absurd position we should be driven into by accepting in this inscription forms like ની (genitive termination) છદ્ર (for અચદ્રદ્ર), which came into vogue some three centuries after Hemachandra — as being extant five centuries before him! And remember that — Apabhramsha itself (which was a dead language in Hemachandra's time) developed about the sixth or seventh century as Sir R. G. Bhandarkar tells us ૧૫.

As regards the name of the province there are references to Gujarat in the local literature of the thirteenth century A.D. But the name when was the name *Gujarat-gātā* given to the province of the thirteenth century A.D. But the name is not given as ગુજરાત but as ગુજરદેશ ૧૬. We come across the name *Gujardt* for the first time it seems in *Vastupāla*

12 Taken from *Buddhi-prakasa*, 1890 A.D. p. 282, from a translation of H H Dhruva's paper read at the Congress

13 H H Dhruva's edition of the *Mugdhāvabodha Aulīka* appendix p. 10

14 *Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarat* (Burgess and Cousens), *Archaeological Survey of Western India* Vol. IX, 1903 A.D. *Archaeological Survey of India* (New Imperial Series) Vol. XXXII, pp. 6 and 45

15 His *Lectures*, v. 302

16 *Revantagiri* v. S. 1288 = 1232 A.D. mentions ગુરજરધર for the king of *Gurjara-desa* (Kadavū I, st. 7), also ગુજરદેશ for the country (Kadavū IV, st. 1)

(Chimanlal Dalal's Report on MSS. at Patana, pp. 22, 23)

*Tejapāla Rāsa*,<sup>17</sup> the date of which is unknown I have discussed this question in my last lecture,<sup>18</sup> and I need not go into repetitions here. Nor need I repeat what I have said in my Second Lecture<sup>19</sup> as to the absence of any authority for the statement in the Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, Part I, p. 5, n., that Gujarat got its name under the Chāvadas. I may, however, remind you of what I said there,<sup>20</sup> viz. that upto the tenth century A.D. the empire of the Gurjaras was known to Arab writers as that of *Jurr*, and the king was mentioned by them as the king of *Jurr*, not of *Jurrat*. But only half a century later, we find, as stated in Mr. Devadatta Bhāuḍārkar's paper on 'the Gurjars', that Al Biruni (A.D. 970-1030)<sup>21</sup> speaks of "Gujarāt". If this is correct, the name is as early as the last quarter of the tenth or the first quarter of the eleventh century, A.D. But this Gujarat included a portion of Rajputānā, for the capital of Gujarat mentioned by Al Biruni was Bazān or Nārāyen, near Jaipur, and it did not include our present day Gujarat, which was *Lārdesa* i.e. *Lāta* in those times. This much however, is certain, that the name Gujarat did not come into free use till after the Mahomedan conquest, and the first reliable mention of that specific name for our provinces in our literature is to be found in the *Kāñhadade-prabandha* (V.S. 1512).<sup>22</sup> The conclusion,

17. Chimanlal Dalal's Report, p. 32 where at 2 of the opening lines is as under —

वस्तुपाल तेजिग सणउ भन्दे खोलिस रासो ।  
भरतपेत्र युरि गुजरात अनहिलतुर वासो ॥

In his Introduction to *Vimala-prabandha*, at p. 12 Mr. Manilal Bakorbhāi Vyāsa states that the word गुजरात is mentioned in several places in the *Prabandha Chintāmanī* (V.S. 1361). I am afraid he is wrong. The name गुजरातेश्वर is found there, and also गुर्जरपतिश्वरी, but गुजरात is not traceable. Hence my statement that *Vastupāla-Tejapāla-Rāsa* gives the earliest mention of the name गुजरात need not be altered.

18. See *supra*, pp. 20-22

19. These Lectures, Vol. I, p. 33

20. *Ibid.*, pp. 34-35

21. 1039 according to Elliot, I, 40

22. गुजरातिरु भोजन कर्ण (I-14),

गुजराति ते कर्णीद किसी (I, 21),

therefore which I have arrived at above that the name *Gujarāti* for the language of Gujarat gained currency very late i.e. about the middle of the eighteenth century A.D. must remain unshaken. Akho the Vendanti poet who flourished in the seventeenth century A.D. calls the language of his works *Prakrit* not *Gujarati*. In fact the tradition which distinguished the language of Gujarat by the name *Prakrit* (in contrast to *Sanskrit*) survived amongst the *Sastrī* class as late as forty years ago as I remember personally even though *Gujarati* was the generally recognized name. This marks the force of habit which points to the fact that the new name *Gujarati* for the language was an acquisition not more than about a century old then.

The reason which weighs with special force with me is the phonetic formation of the word ગુજરાત derived generally from ગુર્જરા. It involves the simplification of a conjunct in double strength ગુજરાંસ્ત્રો  
*The phonetic formation of the word ગુજરાત furnishes strong reasons* requiring the simplification of the double સ્ત્રો as well as that of the double ત (and consequent lengthening of the ત in ર to રા, the ત in the first syllable remaining unlenghened on account of the accented long vowel in રા). It is evident that assuming that ગુર્જરાંસ્ત્રો was the original name the word ગુજરાત could not have been formed before the years which saw the simplified conjunct in great force. And we have seen in the last lecture that this simplification did not commence before the fifteenth century A.D. But as a matter of fact we find Al Biruni using the word *Guzardt* in this specific form in his time (tenth century A.D.).

Let us examine the facts carefully in this connection.

Records mentioning ગુર્જરાંસ્ત્રો &c

(a) The name ગુર્જરાંસ્ત્રો is not found in any works or records belonging to a period when *Sanskrit* was a living language.

### ગુજરાતિમાંદિ તાત્ત્વિકીયી (I 70)

લાદાદેશ નિસ્સિયુ સવાલ્ય ગુનર સોરાં લીય (II 63) has the name 'Gujar' and the mention of Lādādēśa marks the fact that South Gujarat was known as Lāda even in V S 1515.

(b) An undated inscription of about the eighth century (A.D.) at Kalanjara mentions गुर्जरत्रामहान्,<sup>23</sup>

(c) The Danlatpura plate of Bhojsdeva of Mahodaya<sup>24</sup> dated Vikrama Samvat 900 (=844 A.D.)<sup>25</sup> mentions गुर्जरत्रामूर्ति,

23. Ep Ind V, 210 211, and n 3

24 Dr Keilhorn who edited the Danlatpura plate (Ep Ind V) interprets the date of the grant as 100 Harsha Samvat (=706 A.D.) Devadatta R. Bhandarkar in his paper on the Gurjara (J B B R A S Vol XXI, pp 413 ff.) at p 10 of the off print states that the date is 900 V S and not 100 as read by Dr Fleet and Dr Keilhorn and refers to an earlier paper of his own Dr Fleet, whether in the light of D R Bhandarkar's paper or independently seems to have revised his first view and assigned the date 844 A.D. to this grant (J R A S A D 1906 pp 458-460) Dr Hoernle has traced the cause of the error of Dr Keilhorn and Dr Fleet to his paper entitled 'Some Problems of Ancient Indian History, No II the Gurjara Empire' (J R A S 1904 A.D., pp 641-642), and accepted D R Bhandarkar's reading of the date, viz 900 V S The correct date, now accepted, is therefore 900 V S (=844 A.D.) (See Dr V S Sulthankar's paper 'Palaeographic Notes' p 312 of the 'Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume') It appears that Dr Keilhorn himself at a subsequent date quietly accepted D R Bhandarkar's reading of the date I need not go into detailed reasons for rejecting Dr Keilhorn's reading (100 Harsha) as they would be out of place here However, it will be interesting to note one important reason Keilhorn reads the date thus — Samvatsara, then a symbol for 100 and, correcting the ligature sro into sarah (सर), deduces the date as 100 and conjectures it to belong to the Harsha era Dr Hoernle in his paper of 1904 A.D., noted just above shows that the error arose from regarding sro or sra as a letter symbol it is simply a figure representing 100 as a multiplicative factor, and the subsequent symbol which Dr Keilhorn regarded as that for 100 is nothing but a symbol for the figure 9, thus yielding the date 900

D R Bhandarkar had, two years before Dr Hoernle foreshadowed this discovery (see J B B R A S 1902, "Epigraphic Notes and Questions, III p 411) He then read the symbol which Dr Keilhorn read as 100, correctly as 9, but he did not then definitely show how the multiplicative factor of 100 came and yielded 900 It was in 1916 A.D. (Ind Ant Jnlly Epigraphic Notes and Questions, XXII, "Parsabgarh Inscriptions p 123) that he (D R Bhandarkar) split up the ligature sro into s

- (d) The Ghatyal inscription of Kakkuva composed in Prakrit, dated<sup>25</sup> 918 (apparently of the Vikrama era')=A D 862, mentions ગુજરાતા,
- (e) Al Beruni<sup>26</sup> speaks of "Gu·rat", A D 1030,
- (f) Śridhara's *Derapattana Praśasti* mentions the word ગુજરાતા (the Praśasti is dated V S 1273=A D 1216)<sup>27</sup>,
- (g) Marco Polo speaks of "Gujrat" (A D 1254-1324),

(of Samvat) and ૨૫૦ which was the same as ૨૦, and accepted Dr Hoernle's interpretation thereof as a symbol for 100

Finally, Cunningham (*Indian Eras* p 64) refers to the Prithudaka (or Pethva) Inscription of Bhojadeva of Kanauj, and gives its date as 882 A D and in a footnote mentions other inscriptions of the same king dated 876 A D (Gwalior) and 862 A D (Devgarh), and points out that the *Raja Tarang* places Bhojadeva between 883 and 901 A D. The date 706 A D over a century and a half before these assigned by Dr. Keilhorn to the Daulatpura plate, cannot thus fit in with all this collective evidence.

25 There is some discrepancy in the days of the week and month and in the *nakshatra* as given in verse 19 of the inscription which is fully discussed by Manshi Dehipraeas of Jodhpur, or rather by Dr Keilhorn who prepared the paper from materials supplied by Manshi Deo prasad. The conclusion arrived at is that in spite of this discrepancy, there appears no reason to think why the year of the date too should be looked upon with suspicion.

26 Al Beruni's *India* edited in the original Arabic by Dr Edward Sachan, p 49, (chapter 18), 14 The word is written thus — گورڈت (Gurdt with two nuktae = 'gūf'), [pish], sc, re, alif, and te (=Guzrāt)

Elliott's *History of India* Vol I, p 59, footnote, gives گورڈت (=kurdh) or Gurdh) as read in one Ms of the original text, and in another thus گورڈت (Guhardt). But Elliot takes the name from Rashid ud din who has taken the geographical portion of Al Biruni. But I looked up Dr Sachan's edition of Al Beruni's original text and found, as noted above, Guzrāt

27 Ep Ind. Vol II, p 445, 1 13

(h) *Samara-Risa* (or *Sanglapati Samarasinha Pasa*) has the name गुजरात (V S 1471) <sup>28</sup>

[I do not cite other intermediate mentions of the name e.g. the mention by Rajasekhara'siri (who wrote his *Prabandha Kosha* in A D 1348) of the name *Gujardt* नैवपीयस्य प्रथम उत्तक हरिहरो गुजरातेति रूपातदेश वीरत्यपलनामि राजति यस्तर्त्वं नासत्यानयत्।" (Visie preface written by Pandit Siradatta of the Oriental College Lahore, to *Naishadhiya Charita* p 5 col 1 and for the date of *Prabandha-kosha* p 3 col 1 last line edited by the Nirnaya Sugara Press) The reliability of Rajasekhara is discredited by some scholars. But that does not shake the patent fact that he mentions the name *Gujardt* ]

A brief remark about गुजराता in (f) is called for. Dr Fleet regards the आ in the रा of this word as questionable <sup>29</sup> Dr Buhler who edited this *Prasasti* seems to take गुजराता as the name of the country. But I think it is गुजराता (=the people of Gujarat) a *taddhita* formation from गुजरा, perhaps गौजराता would be the correct form any way it is the plural of गूर्हराता (=resident of गुर्हरात) This will account for the आ in the रा. This interpretation fits in well with the context also गुजराता निजनिरुणगुणौ &c.

Dr Fleet has a fanciful explanation of the आ in गुर्हराता. He thinks it is connected in some way with the adverb al suffix of position आ (Vedic आ), which we have in आ त्र &c. and notably in गुर्हराता (amongst the Kurns and Panchillas *Satapatha Brhmaṇa* 9 2 3 15). But obviously this locative suffix (आ or आ) by its very sense militates against the suffix आ furnishing the name of a province. If आ was equivalent to the locative, गुर्हराता would mean among the Gurjars which is quite different from गुर्हराता as the name of a country. The land where the Gurjars found shelter rescue (आ-आ=in save) is a better explanation though slightly far fetched.

28 *Prachina Gurjara Kdraja Sangraha* (Gachala's Oriental Series No XII) p 97, द्वादशी भाषा at 4

29 J R A S 1906 1 D pp 459-460

The termination णि is given in Panini V 17 56. This *sūtra* is not shown as in the *Vārdhī pralayīd* by Bhattoji Dikshita, and no wonder for there is no indication in the *sūtra* itself or in any preceding *sūtras* yielding अनुवृत्ति of a word like छन्दसि. This would lead us to infer that at any rate in Panini's time णि was in use in लौकिक Sanskrit as well though any works of that period containing णि are not available now. Macdonell's *Vedic Grammar* (VIII-631) shows णि as a Vedic termination. Thus we can take it that even if in Panini's time णि was not confined to Vedic usage, it virtually became a Vedic termination since. Or, it may be that Panini's *sūtras* dealing with Vedic usage are not exhaustive.<sup>30</sup> Now, it is highly improbable that the name गुजराति which obviously came into use after the advent of the Gurjaras and therefore many centuries after the Vedic period would be formed by the help of a Vedic termination.

These are the facts the data from which we have to deduce a consistent theory as to the origin of the name Gujarat. As already premised above this name either as गुजराति or any other Sanskrit form is not to be found in literature or record belonging to a period when Sanskrit was a living language. Even in 612 A.D. this Sanskrit name or any other was not known. For Hsien Tsang calls the country *Ku che lo* (Gujjar).<sup>31</sup> And in the chain of record noted above (b) to (h), the earliest mention of गुजराति is in the eighth century A.D. (b), and it is repeated in the ninth century (c), the Prakrit form गुजरति occurs in the ninth century (d), while the modern form गुजरात appears first in the early part of the eleventh century, (e).

30. We find देवता in the *Bṛihaddaranyaka Upaniṣad* I iv-11 (गदा वा इदमप्त भासीदेवते \* \* \* \* यान्येतानि देवता पश्चाणि इन्द्रो वरुण &c.)

The *Upaniṣads* are no doubt regarded as portions of *Śruti*. Yet, their language, although possessing characteristics of Vedic language, approaches लौकिक Sanskrit a good deal. May it be that this was a reason which made Panini not to include the *sūtra* about णि in his *Vādika set*?

31. Walters on *Yuan Chwang*, 2,249, Vids Dr. Fleet's article, J.R.A.S. 1906 A.D., pp. 453-460

Now, it is obvious that the rather artificial Sanskrit name, गुजराता, could hardly have existed outside the fictitious creations of Sanskritizers. The Prakrit name गुजरता, too, appears to me to be a Prakritized form of the popularly accepted name गुजरात. I would add that गुजर even is a Sanskritized form of Gujjar or Gujar.<sup>32</sup> My theory, then, is that the Gurjars brought with them the name Gujarat and having come into vogue as such it naturally found its Prakritized and Sanskritized forms गुजरता and गुजराता at the hands of pandits and men of that class who are always fond of adopting such alterations. It is quite unlikely that the Gurjars, a foreign class themselves, could have coined the Sanskrit name, गुजराता.

The significance of आत in गुजरात गुजरात The question still remains What is the genesis and significance of आत (at) in Gujarat? I advance the following possible answers conjecturally more or less

- (I) In Gujarati we have ટાકોર (= a chieftain) and from it the word ટાકરત is formed meaning 'the office or the dominion of a chieftain'. The आत suffix here has the sense of an abstract termination which may be compared to the English suffix *dom* in *kingdom*  *wisdom*, and the like where *dom* has the function of an abstract suffix. It may conjecturally be stated that the आत in *Gujarat* is similar to that in ટાકરત. The sense would be 'the domain of the Gujars'.
- (II) Arabic has the suffix *at* to form the plural number e. g. *insan* (a man) plur. *insanat* (men) *zahir* (a known thing) plur. *zihirat* (known things). This suffix is applied generally to nouns in the feminine gender. However this restriction may possibly be

<sup>32</sup> Mr D R Bhandarkar holds this same view in his paper on 'Foreign Elements in Hindu Population' Ind. Ant. XL, 1911 'D January p. 21 I go a step further and suggest that the *at* portion was also Sanskritized into आता.

relaxed. Thus *Gujardt* may be the plural of *Gujar*. The plural sense would then be transferred into the sense of country occupied by the Gujars. This may gain color from the fact that in ancient India the names of countries were framed from the plural of the words expressing the people residing therein, e.g. કોશારા, કુરવ કિદર્પાં &c. Thus on this analogy *Gujarat* (plural of *Gujar*) may denote the country occupied by the Gujars. True the Indian custom of naming countries after the names of the tribes living there would not easily be transferred to foreign tribes like the Gujars who came from outside India. Yet it is conceivable that the Indian idiom may have been grafted on the foreign names either by the residents of India by force of habit or by the Gujars themselves by way of imitation.<sup>33</sup>

(III) There is in Arabic a suffix *t* or *at* which amounts to a termination forming something like an abstract noun e.g. વકીલ, વકાલત, વસીર, વજારત કાફી (=enough), સિફાયત, this termination applied to the word *Gujar* and the *a* (ા) in the suffix being lengthened by false analogy the word *Gujarat* may have resulted. Possibly this [*at*] *t* may be traced to [a]-*tta* (Pr) [a] તા (Skr)

33 I find Dr. Buhler has offered a similar conjecture as regards the suffix, (without advancing the theory about the naming of countries in India) *Vide* Epigr. Ind. Vol. II pp. 445 and 438 (Pratasti XXXV in the volume). He says (p. 438) —

*'Gujardt* itself is probably a hybrid formation the Arabic collective affix *dt* being added to the name of the *Gujara* or *Gujar* clan.

It may be noted that Arabic has no suffix *dt* in the collective sense but only as a plural forming suffix. However plurality and collectivity are very near each other. I would also point out that taking *Gujara* as a Sanskritized form of the foreign name *Gyar*, the word *Gujardt* need not be regarded as a hybrid the Arabic *dt* may very well have been brought by the Gujars from Arabia.

At any rate *Gujardt* can thus be Prâkritized into *Gujaratî* (the feminine ending being a further modification made to indicate the term भूमि or the like).

It may be asked the change of अता (गुजराता) to आत (Gujarât) presupposes the process of the simplified conjunct and lengthened preceding vowel, and similarly in the theory that *Gujardt* was Prâkritized into *Gujaratî* this process is equally recognized, though as a reverse process. Now this process is a characteristic of the post-Apabhramsa language, whereas the name, *Gujaratî*, is as old as 862 A. D. (the date of the Ghatiyâl inscription, which has गुजराती), i.e. over five centuries before the amplification process started or got into full swing. The answer is easy. As I have pointed out in Vol. I of these Lectures (pp 391-392), the principle underlying this process is, in an embryonic form as old as the early Prâkrite *ney*, as old as Pânini. It was thus quite natural to adopt this process in Prâkritizing *Gujardt* into *Gujaratî*.<sup>34</sup> We are therefore on fairly solid ground in holding that *Gujardt* was the name brought by the Gurjars, and that it got Prâkritized into *Gujaratî* and Sanskritized into *Gujaratî* by a backward process at the hands of pandits and men of that class in inscriptions and such writings.

<sup>34</sup> The principle of the simplified conjunct and lengthened preceding vowel is seen also in the period 40 to 46 Saka Era = 118 to 124 A. D., the dates of the inscriptions of Ushavadîta (son in law of Nahapâna), for उपदात is Prâkrit of उपमदत्, or उपमदत् is Sanskrit of उपदात (For the Sanskrit equivalent and the dates see J. R. A. S. 1890 A. D. "The Western Kshatrapas" by Bhagvinlli Indrajit, edited by Prof. Rapson, p. 462. Also see Bhândarkar's *Early History of the Dekkan*, p. 20, last para.) *Ushavadîta* must have been a Scythian name which was probably Sanskritized into *Rushabhadatta* (hko *Gujaratî* from *Gujardt*). A Nasik Inscription distinctly calls Ushavadîta a Śaka (Ep. Ind., VIII, pp. 85-86) D. R. Bhandarkar regards him as a Śaka (Scythian), (see his paper on *Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population*, p. 14 Ind. Ant. January, 1911 A. D.) Rapson regards Ushavadîta's name a Hinduized name (Catalogue of Coins, Andhras, W. Kshatrapas etc., p. civ, n. 1) The name *Ushavadîta* is found at least in one inscription written in Sanskrit (Plate VII in Gaurishankar's *Palaeography of India*), and in D. R. Bhandarkar's "Foreign Elements", p. 14 Ind. Ant. XL, January 1911 A. D.

It may be asked, -how was it that, while Al Mâsudi and Abn Zaid in 943 A. D and 916 A. D knew only Jnzs or Guzs and not *Gujarât*, only half a century later Al Biruni gets hold of the name, *Gujardt*, or something very similar to it? The question is not easy to answer. The facts remain as stated, and we are concerned with them.

I leave the question for solution by better informed students.<sup>35</sup> For the purpose of our inquiry, this much is clear, that the word, *Gujardt*, did not obtain admittance in literature much before 1500 V. S. (*Kanhadade Prabandha* being written in V. S. 1512, which mentions the name for the first time in that literature), or if we accept *Vastupâla Tejapâla Rasa* as an earlier work, *Gujardt* may have found place in literature in the fourteenth century of Vikrama Era. And I may repeat that *Gujardt* as a name of the language is merely of very recent origin : e not much before V. S. 1700. And this is what we are specially concerned with here.

Although *Gujarâti*, as we know it, began about 1750 V. S., a historical survey of *Gujarâti* literature would be incomplete and uncritical without an examination of the literature of the three centuries that preceded V. S. 1750. This literature, though written in a language different from our modern *Gujarâti*, cannot be ignored, because historical continuity will demand its recognition. Again, the literature of later *Gujarâti* has drawn much of its inspiration and adopted many models from the earlier literature. The sources of some of Premânanda's poems are now traced back to Bhâlana and other poets older than Premânanda, for instance, and these are not mere sources, but models which he actually copied. The relation between the earlier and later language is such that it would not be proper to call the later works translations of the earlier ones, the earlier language was not foreign either.

35 I must emphasize the fact that Al Biruni's *Gujardt* lay S E of Kansu and had its capital somewhere near Jaipur, it was not the Gurjarsâdesa over which the Châlukya kings ruled during Al Biruni's time and the capital of which was Anahilavâda, which Al Biruni speaks of as Anhalwîrâ (or rather Nahalwîrâ) and places 60 *parsangs* (=480 miles) S. W. of Narâns, the capital of *Gujardt*, mentioned by him. The natural inference would be that the present day *Gujarât* did not bear that name in Al Biruni's time.

geographically or structurally. It was an earlier stage in the long stream of evolution. For these reasons, we shall begin our historical survey of the literature of Gujarat with Narasinha Mehta and Mirâhâi, who may be regarded as beginning the literature of Gujarat, though they did not begin the Gujarâti language. Literature prior to these two poets must necessarily be excluded from this survey of ours on linguistic grounds. If you call to mind the specimens of the language of this period, the period before V. S. 1450 you will see that by no stretch of meaning can we call it Gujarâti or early Gujarâti. As a matter of fact, the language in which Narasinha Mehta, Mirâhâi, Bhîma and Padmanâbha wrote in the fifteenth century (Vikrama era), was later Apahramîa well recognized by Gujarati scholars of authority. The language in which the poems of Narasinha Mehta, and Mirâhâi have come down to us in their present form was certainly not the language in which they were written (or rather composed) by their authors. They have passed through a number of alterations from generation to generation. The chief reasons for this state of things are—

- (1) The scribes, professional as well as lay ones, being themselves speakers of Gujarâti as their mother-tongue, from time to time altered the language to bring it into conformity with the language of their own time as much as possible,
- (2) The poems of these two poets, singing the praises of *Bhakti* (devotion to Krishna) became so very popular amongst the masses that they passed by tradition more from mouth to ear than from manuscript to manuscript in the first instance. As a result the language of the poems took an impress from the speakers of the language according to their will, education and culture. Even the oldest available MSS. of Narasinha Mehta's poems are in a language far removed from his period.<sup>36</sup>

36 For instance, see the specimens given at pp. 8-15 *supra*

37 In the introductory essay on "Gujarâti Poetry" in the First volume of *Brijâ Kâryâ Dahana*, Ichhâdîm Sîryârâm Desai writes—

As regards Bhâlana who flourished between 1490 and 1570, V. S.,<sup>38</sup> his works have met with two kinds of fate. While his *Kôdambarî* (a poem based on the Ssnekrît story by Bâna, in fact a translation of it), on account of the subject-matter being above the capacity of the masses and appreciable only by scholars, has come down in the language of his own time, (in fact the Ms. came to light only half a century ago), though certain alterations in the forms, e. g. the કારિ type instead of the કરદુ type, indicate the scribe's adjustment to his own times, (the copy being made in V. S. 1672), the several stray poems, as also *Alkyânas* or popular stories, written by the same poet appear at present in a modern garb linguistically. These latter underwent the same metamorphosis as Narasinha's and Mirâ's poems that were on the lips of the people more than in the pages of manuscripts. Mr. Manilâl Bakorhhai Vyâsa has shown by quoting comparative extracts from *Hari-Lilâ*, of Bhîma Kavi, as printed in the *Gujarâtsâla Patra* on the one hand and in the *Brihat Kâtyâ Dohann* on the other, and from two different copies (Ms.) of *Panchopâlkhyâna* by a Jain poet, Guṇa Meru (V. S. 1600 or thereabouts), how the language gets materially altered in its transit from copy to copy.<sup>39</sup>

These prefatory observations will suffice.

“મહેતાના કાલની જૂની ભાપા મલબી દુર્લભ એ. મદાર મિશ રા. ઇરિલાઈ હપેરાય મુયે જૂની ભાપાનો એક એણો જૂનો ટગમગ ૩૦૦ વરસ પર એવાયણે એક મન્દ મદારા હાપમાં મુસ્યો હતો, તેમાં આ મન્દમાં આવેણાં દેણાં જ ૧૩ પરો હતાં-ગે વંદ્ર એણ ફેરફાર કર્યા બગર જેણી ને રેણી ભાપામાં દાયણ કીર્યા એ. એ પરપરી નિશ્ચયપૂર્ણક એમ કહી નહિ સત્તાને કે નરસિંહ મહેતાના કાલની ઘરેઘરી ભાપા તે એ જ એ.”

(Page 14 of the Essay).

This was written in A. D. 1896 (=V. S. 1942). The Ms., which was about 300 years old then, must therefore belong to V. S. 1642 or thereabouts. The language of the 13 songs in question presents features which may have existed in the seventeenth century of the Vikrama era.

38. See Râmalîl Chencîl Modi's book no. *Dhalana* p. 155, last para.

39. See his Introduction to *Vimala-prabandha*, pp. 45 to 48.

Before entering upon the literary survey proposed by me, I wish to indicate, once for all, the principles which will guide me in examining the literature in its chronological aspect as also in regard to the nature of the language. These principles are as under:—

- (1) The interval between the date of the composition of a work and the date of the manuscript copy should be an effective factor.

The reason for this is obvious. It arises from the fact that the copyists' mother-tongue may be near or removed from the language in which the work they are copying was composed, and this would affect the chances of the copyists modifying the language of the work into that of their own times. The shorter the interval between the two dates, the lower the chances of alteration of language.

- (2) If the interval between the two dates is long the question whether the language in the manuscript should be regarded as the language of the period of composition or that of the copy must depend partly on intrinsic evidence and partly on collateral external evidence.

In cases of this nature, some students of old literature are inclined to be on the safe side and take the later date i. e. the date of copying as the period represented by the language of the manuscript. I think there should be no hard and fast rule. There may be distinct mention in the work itself of the date of its composition, which will be conclusive evidence outweighing all other factors. Or it may be that other works of undisputed date may possess language which may be similar in type to the language of the manuscript you are considering, in which case the date of copying need not be taken as representing the period of the language.

- (3) The language of a manuscript may, as a rule, be regarded as some years earlier than the language of the period in which the work is actually composed.

This may be a useful and safe principle, but it has to be followed with discretion and caution. A good deal depends on the nature of the contents of the work. For instance, take the *Mugdhabodha Antika*. It is a treatise on Sanskrit grammar, and the treatment is in a vernacular language just as an English writer would treat the grammar of a foreign language (Sanskrit, Gujarati, Hindi &c.) in English. There would be no justification in such a case to put the language of the work at a period earlier than its composition. On the other hand, especially in the case of poetical works some writers are tempted to write in language some years older than that of their own age. But a good deal must depend on collateral evidence, and the evidence of actual linguistic evolution in this matter.

(4) The distinction between Jain Gujarati and Non-Jain (or, as it is called Brahministic) Gujarati.—The question is how far should this distinction be respected in deciding whether the language of the work is the language of the people and of the times.

The rule I would observe would be this. The mere fact that a work is written by a Jain should not be a deciding factor; a good deal must depend on the nature of the contents. Works specially dealing with Jain religion philosophy, and connected subjects, are likely, only likely, to have been written in language which was not of the country. But other works, for instance, ordinary *Pācas*, *Prabandhas* &c. may not necessarily be regarded as written in *Jain Gujarati* (as it is named) simply because the authors were Jains. For instance the *Kinnadade-prabandha* is certainly not in Jain Gujarati. It is written by a non-Jain. If it had happened to have been from the pen of a Jain certain people would have set it down as a work in Jain Gujarati. In the specimens given in Mr. Chimanlal Dalal's paper on Fatan Manuscripts there are some writings by non-Jains the language of which does not differ in any way from that of the Jain writers. It could not be that, in an age when Jainism and Brahminism were in opposite camps, a non-Jain would care to imitate the Jain style.

(5) Obviously and designedly used artificial language must not be regarded as representing the period of the work

There are some works which abound in Magadhi and other obsolete peculiarities of language and we can at once discard them as foreign to the time of the work so far. Such works are *Silarati no Rasa* for instance. We have also noticed before some obsolete formations in *Vimala prabandha*. As I have already given an illustration before<sup>40</sup> we cannot regard words like अड़, नीलवट, हेज etc used by Rao Babalnr Kesavlal H Dhrnva in his writings as linguistic features of our times. I may add another instance. Mr. Naufal Kavi has used the purely obsolete word महिरामण in one place<sup>41</sup>. The word meant the sea in the old ballad lora of Kathiavada and it may be in use in Kathi language even now for ought I know. But in the literature of these days it is certainly an obsolete word unattractive though it be in its old and romantic associations. None the less it is not a word which can be regarded as one known to Gujarati literature of our day. To do so would make wrong history. The same remarks apply to certain poems written by some young Kathiavadi writers in a language designedly foreign to our times the language of the romantic ballad literature of Kathiavada of by gone days.

Having built this foundation we may now think of the superstructure in this literary survey. As said before we begin with the latter half of the fifteenth century of the Vikrama era. The towering figures marking the epoch are Narasinha Mehta and Mirabai.<sup>42</sup> Both sing of Krishna as loving devotees both had

40 See supra pp 15-16 हेज (an early form of हेत = affection now certainly obsolete) which I now add to the list there given is used by K B K H Dhrnva in his translation of *Gita Govinda*

41 This word can be traced back to महिरामण which is found in Bhilana's *Kadambari* (see p 81 l 7 K H Dhrnva's edition)

42 The orthodox acceptance of Mirabai's period is the fifteenth century A D. Several scholars have attempted to place her a century later and make her a contemporary of Akbar. They also reject the tradition which makes her the wife of Kumbha Rani, and state that

passed through severe trials and tests and persecution on account of their faith, and both came out through them brightened and chastened. However, the poetry of the former has the rough features of a man, that of the latter the grace of a woman. Unfortunately, their works are not handed down to us in the language in which the poets wrote them, and the charm of the originals, as we may call them, has considerably suffered in consequence. I need not reproduce the suggestive criticism of the poetry of these two which Mr. Krishnalal M. Javari has given. For that I would refer you to his useful and valuable work entitled "Milestones in Gujarati Literature." I shall only give selected specimens from the works of each of these two poets —

### NARASINHA MEHTA.

(1)

शरद निशाए श्रीमहाराज के बत्तां आविषा रे लोळ;  
 मध्यनिशाए बजादी वीण के गोपिका चाटियां रे लोळ.  
 अबने सुणीं मोरलीनो नार के सहु ध्याहु धयां रे लोळ;  
 जे जेम हुतुं पोताने धाम ते तेम नीसर्या रे लोळ.  
 जोयो पूरणनंद परित्रक के छुपडुप सर्व टक्की रे लोळ;  
 ज्यै नयणां भरीं भरीं नार के गोपी(का) सहु मळी रे लोळ.  
 वचन बोल्या श्रीमहाराज के कहो केम आविर्या रे लोळ;  
 वळती बोली बजनी नार के तम आभये आवियां रे लोळ.  
 रंगभर रास रमाडो नाप के शरद सोइमणी रे लोळ,  
 जग्यो सोळ कळानो चद के दाळडी हळी आपणी रे लोळ.  
 पूरण प्रीत जोई परित्रक के दरिया भीटियां रे लोळ;  
 रंगभर रमवा मांध्यो रास के कारज सीळियां रे लोळ.  
 वाजे ताल पलाज ने झांझ के वीणा वांसकी रे लोळ;  
 नाचे नरसिंह नंदकुमार के गोपी(पा) सहु मळी रे लोळ.  
 चाकमा फरती बजनी नार के नचे राया हरि रे लोळ;  
 नव सत सज्या (१ सनिया) के शणगार के पावळे घूघरी रे लोळ.

She was the queen of Bhojarāj. In the absence of convincing proof, I do not accept the view which needlessly rejects the orthodox tradition. Thus I join her with Narasinha Mehta as his contemporary.

हमची ले हरिजीनी साथ के ताली ले हाथमाँ रे लोल,  
 नाचे नटमर मदनगोपाल के जुमरीना साथमाँ रे लोल.  
 अंतरिय देवता रहीन जुए के युष्मे नपावता रे लोल,  
 सूपे हूँदो नरसेयानो नाथ के मनमाँ भावता रे लोल

It is unfortunate doubly that we have no means of verifying the genuineness of pieces like this and that the charm of the old language of Narasinha Mehta's lines is lost to us by obvious manipulation of the language of the poem. I have a further reason for doubting the authorship of this particular poem in the term of its composition. It is the well known *jarbi* form which as I have reasons for holding belonged to a very later period as late as Dayawan. But even in its present condition one can see the grace of language and simple beauty of description. As regards the sense it is possible to read an esoteric meaning in the external description of the *rusa* held here.

Leaving this piece aside as of doubtful genuineness we might turn to one or two indisputable poems —

(2)

कामनी सर्व टोळे मळी याहयो वडामन राम,  
 बामना चदन छारपां, रमे मापय पास  
 रासक्रीढा रमे माननी, गुण गाए गोर्बिद,  
 फोकिलाकडे स्वर ये, स्थिर यडे रायो चद  
 याड याळया सर्वे कामनी, योहे सफल शणगार,  
 दार देयाना रहवता, भास्त्ररना फळसार  
 पलट वाळी पटोली, गोरी शामकी नारी,  
 कुडलाकार करी रही, मध्ये आण्या मोरारि  
 त्रिभुवन चरणे चालता याय द्रमदमसार,  
 पगतणा प्रहार याजी रहा, फोय न टद पार  
 शट वोय वेना गुणे नही, योले जुमरी वाणा,  
 रोहिणीपति रह स्थिर यस्मारी राति रिहारी  
 वडा शारदा आंदे यडे देवो जोपेडे रग,  
 नादनियोप याजी रहा तारी तार घटग

मुनिजन मन विमासी रहा, धन धन कृष्णावतार;  
नरसेयाचा स्थामी जगमे प्रगाढा ते निरधार.

(Opening pada of *Rāta-sahasrā-padi* )

Here is a living picture of a unique pastoral dance, which lasted throughout a moonlit night six months in length. The *gopis*, clad in rich *sādhas* tucked up gracefully to facilitate the movements of the dance, the cloth ends similarly fastened round their wrists, and in the centre of the circle of these damsels, some fair, some brown but all lovely in their youth and grace stands the hero of the scene, the ever attractive Krishna. The stillness of the moonlit midnight is cleverly brought out by the poet in a single stroke. No words are uttered, none are heard, they speak little and in low tones" which also marks their complete surrender to the fascination of the dance. This stillness is also the magic effect of the dance and song, sung by the *gopis* in their cuckoo-sweet notes similarly brought out by a clever imaginative touch ये चंद्र रुदी, the moon stood still (in her course). [The naturalness of this beginning will be perceived when I tell you that a child, three years of age watching a *garbha* performance on a moonlight night, remarked to me once "Look here. The moon is listening to the song."] The picture is set in a scene of unique beauty a still night with its calm unbroken by the song, and the sound of small bells, drums and cymbals, the silent moon watching the *rāsa* in fascinated rapture and the gods watching the whole in rapt admiration. The effect is secured by a flow of natural and simple words of pristine grace and easy movement.

(3)

निरख ने गगनमार्ग कोण धूमी रखो,  
 ते ज हु ते ज हु शब्द योले,  
 अपामरा, न्यरुमरा, इन्दुरुरु यरण रे,  
 भाद्रियां रोइ नर्थो कृष्ण तोरे। निरख ने०

इयामशोभा पणी बुद्धि ना सके कब्दी  
 अनंत ओच्छमर्ग पथ भूठी।

जहने चेतनरस करी जाणवो,  
पवहाँ प्रेमे सजीवन मूळो. निरख न०

जलहल ज्योत उशोत रवि कोटमाँ,  
हेमनी कोर ज्यहाँ निष्ठे तोले;  
सचिदानन्द आनन्दवीदा करे,  
सोनाना पालणा मांडि झाले. निरख न०

पत्तों प्रिण, तेल प्रिण, सूर प्रिण जो बच्ची,  
अचल प्रवहे सदा अचल दीगो,  
नेत्र प्रिण निरपर्यो, सूप प्रिण परस्परो,  
वण जिव्हाए रम सरस पीवो. निरख न०

अरच अविनार्थी ए नर ज जाग अव्ययो,  
अरथ उरथनी महि म्हाले,  
नरसंयाचो स्वामी सरच व्यापी रगो,  
प्रेमना ततमा संत झाले. निरख न०

Here is perhaps the sublimest poem of Narasinha Mehta nay one of the sublimest pieces in the literature of the world. The poet combines hero philosophic height with poetic beauty. He sees and asks us to see in the cosmic expanse in the expanse of the skies which symbolize the cosmos the Great Cosmic Soul crying out 'I am He' (स्तोऽहम्) in response to this cry the poet longs for death in *Him*, the death of the individual soul for there is nothing here below which is like *Him* (in fact there is nothing but *Him*). His splendour is beyond the reach of human intellect which loses its way in the eternal festival of the Universal Soul. Those who by the help of Love have caught hold of the charm of imparting life to the dead, to the lifeless are asked to realize the Living Essence in lifeless matter. They then see the vision of dazzling Light, Light that is like myriads of suns to them is vouchsafed the sight of a golden streak of that Light, they see the Existing Living Joyous *Paramitma*, enjoying his great game of joy-being visible in the various manifestations of the Universe they see *Him* swinging in a cradle of golden Light. To them this *Paramitma* is an undying Lamp shining bright eternally, a Lamp with no

wick and unsed by oil of any kind They see him without their material eyes they<sup>43</sup> feel him without any form though he is, they taste his sweetness without the help of a material tongue He is indestructible, incomprehensible moves freely high above and down below such is Narasinha Lord pervading all space (Well, if so, he cannot be imprisoned and localized one may ask. Narasinha's answer is unique) Yet Sants can catch hold of him and confine him with the fine thread of love Here is a synthesis of knowledge and Love (ज्ञान and भक्ति) at once subtle and sublime

I am tempted to give two more specimens of a different type  
(4)

गोवर्धन चढ़ी चिंतावृं, दूर दीड़ी अनोपम नार,  
 तेजे विभुवन मोही रथां जी रे, निरसे नदकुमार.  
 दोही वदालो पदोची बलगा, पूर्वावृं केनी तमो छो नार ?  
 हींदोठो सौ मलगती, नचरो बुंधटमां नर्ण ज्ञानकार,  
 छो रे रभा के रे मोहनी ? के छो रे आनंद के चंद ?  
 के रे पातालमांनी पश्चनी ? एओ विचार वरे गोविंद.  
 नहि रे रंभा नहि रंनादेवी जी रे, नहि आनंद के चंद;  
 खलुभाननी हुंगरी रु, सावे खाल्सुहुंद.  
 गोदुङ्गमधुरां जाउं आबुं, ने शुं रे थथा अजाण ?  
 हुं रे गोदुङ्गनी गोदालर्णी, प्रभु ना आउं मरीना दुष्ट

(*Dâna Lîli*).

Thus gives us a simple picture of Krishna's pastoral pastime and interview with the shepherd girls - a picture full of attractive color and charm.

(5)

मारो नाथ न बोले बोल, अबोलां मरिये रे  
हूँ रथम रुरी नेहु मिजोग ? होइ जुँ मरिये रे ?

अन्वेषण ०

43 I render the word, परस्वो, in the text by the word 'to feel,' deriving it not from परित्तेत्, but from स्पृश् = to touch, (the change of श् to ष्ट् being seen in गुणित् in a few cases, e.g. दंश-डंष), परित्तेत् is ordinarily the Ap of स्पृशति but the ष्ट् change is visible in t's case as a post-Ap phase, unless the ष्ट् may be a misreading for स् in परस्वो (the two letters being similar in a way in old MSS.)

संभव सहियर वीनती, आ दुख केम सेहेपाये रे ?

मेली गया दुने मारनी, मारो जन्मारो कथम जाये रे ?

अबोलां०

शेरदीए सामो मले, तो वाट मरोदी जाये रे;

उंगुं जोडं त्यार नीचु जुरे, मने थडी पिमासण थाये रे.

अबोलां०

This describes in a naïve tone the heart-burning of a *Gopi* during a temporary estrangement between Krishna and herself. The charm of the piece lies in its unaffected and gentle outpouring and in the naturalness of the description of the two lovers, when Krishna deliberately shuns the shepherd girl at every turn.

I must now turn to Mirâbî. I am handicapped here by the difficulty, greater than in the case of Nâsînâ Mehta of selecting pieces of undoubted genuineness of authorship. Still I shall try and select the most probable pieces.

(1)

रामरमकहूं जटिलुं रे, राणाजी, मने रामरमकहूं जटिलुं.

रमगुम करतुं मरे मंदिरे परारुं, नहि योहने हाये पटिलुं रे. राणाजी०

मोटा मोटा भुनिजन मधी पास्या, कोइ एक विरलाने हाये चटिलुं रे. राणाजी०

शमशिदरना रे पाठनी उपर अगम अगोचर नाम पटिलुं रे राणाजी०

बारूं मीरांके प्रभु गिरधर नागर, मारूं मन शायदिया जुं जटिलुं रे. राणाजी०

Mirâbî's attachment to Krishna (here purposely represented by the synonymous word राम) in this piece is shown in an enlightened view of God as really formless, the play toy which she has found is no material idol or image नहि योहने हाये पटिलुं chiselled by no mortal hand: it is a toy to please which great saints and Rishis have toiled in vain, but which comes to the lucky rare devotee, comes of its own accord playfully and gaily. It is the Inscrutable and Incomprehensible One standing in its splendid isolation on the top of the mountain of Nothingness and Mirâbî has its realization in the heart of a Blâskîni to whom it is a priceless toy.

(2)

इव तो लागेल दुंगरमें, कहोने ओपाजी हवे बेम करिये ।

केम ते करिये, अमे बेम करिये, इव तो लागेल दुंगरमें, कहो ने.

दालवा जहये तो वदाला हालो न सकिये,

बेशी रहिये तो अमं बढ़ी मरिये रे, कहो ने०  
 आ रे वस्तीए नथी देकाणु रे बहाणा हे री,  
 परवस्तीनी पांये अमे फरिये रे, कहो ने०  
 ससार सागर महाजल भरियो बहाणा हे री,  
 चाहेडी शालो नीकर इदी मरिये रे, कहो ने०  
 चाई मीराके प्रभु गिरधर नागर हे री,  
 गुरजी तारे तो दम तरिये रे, कहो ने०

The poet here gives expression to the besetting difficulties and misery of this life and to reliance on the Better Life. This life is like a wild fire in a forest from which there is no escape the only hope which sustains her is the shelter to be had in परवस्ती (residence elsewhere viz-life in the Great Beyond). She again compares this life to a great ocean where only the help of God the great Guru (Teacher) can save her from a watery grave.

## ( 3 )

तमे जाणी ल्यो सच्चद सरीरा मारा वीरा रे,  
 आ दिल तो खोलीने दीनो परो रे, हे जी  
 आ रे कायामा छे बाहीओ रे हो जी,  
 महि मोर करेहे लिंगोरा रे मारा वीरा०  
 आ रे कायामा छे सरोवर हो जी,  
 माहे दस करे छे कहोला रे मारा वीरा०  
 आ रे कायामा छे हाटदा रे हो जी,  
 तमे वणज वेपार करो ने अपरपारा रे मारा वीरा०  
 चाई मीराके प्रभु गिरधरना गुण हो जी,  
 देजो अमने सतचरणे वासेरा रे, मारा वीरा०

Mr. lays bare before her brother devotee her heart and (in a metaphorical and metaphysical sense) her body (her inner self). The brother devotee is asked to light the lamp of spiritual insight or sympathy which will show the charms and happiness of her inner self he will find therein blooming gardens where peacocks raise their joyous notes he will have sight there of a beautiful lake wherein the swan (i.e. the soul or the Great Soul) lives merrily, he

will have spread before him there a row of shops where she asks the visitor to make endless purchases of spiritual wares. She concludes with a prayer that (in order to fulfil this ideal of hers) she may ever live at the feet of saints (or the Great Saint, God).

## (4)

बोले श्रीणा मोर, राधे तारा दृगरिया पर बोले श्रीणा मोर।

मोर ही बोले रपेया दी बोले, बोल करे धनशोर, राधे।

\*\* \* \* भली बीजली चमके, चादल हृवा धनशोर, राधे।

प्रसर मप्रसर मेहुलो वरसे, भीजे मारा साढुहानी कोर, राधे।

चार्द मीरांके प्रभु गिरपरना गुण प्रभुनी म्हारा चितदाना चोर, राधे।

Here is a poem in a different vein throwing on the screen a picture in a few items of sound and sight, at the same time making it a subtle background for the lonely figure of the heroine proceeding in a gentle shower of rain to meet her lover-god. A small difficulty confronts me in this piece as the first line is addressed to Radhî (presumably by Krishna) while the fourth line speaks of a woman (Râdhî herself going to meet Krishna) who herself utters this line. Barring this the setting of black clouds and glistening lightning, the notes of the peacock, the chitaka and the cuckoo and the drizzle of the gentle rain behind and about the solitary woman determined to meet her lover presents a vivid picture in which it is not difficult to read in occult sense, the devotee proceeding to his God through the difficulties of this life where if he is hampered by darkness and affliction his journey is also enlightened by the encouraging notes of supernatural inspiration.

It is possible to give a new interpretation to this song which will get rid of the difficulty noted just now. The first part of the song may be the words addressed by Krishna to Radhî and the

44 I can at guess what words these asterisks of omission stand for. The editor of the *Brihat Kârya dôkâna* throws no light. Presumably the gap represents an undecipherable portion in the Ms.

third, fourth and fifth lines would be the reply of Rūdhā to Krishna. Thus Krishna speaks of the inviting and love inspiring notes of the singing birds, while Rūdhā draws attention to the rain wetting the fringe of her garment and winds up by suggesting that she risks this discomfort because Krishna is her चितानोचर, he has robbed her of her heart. It is equally possible to read an esoteric meaning in this interpretation too. God finds and sympathetically and encouragingly shows the charms to be found in the life of man on earth and the devotee is ready to meet Him through the hardships of that life.

Next we take up Padmanabha whose *Kanhadade-prabandha*, attractive as it is is a link in the history of the Gujarātī language, stands prominent as a literary work for it is a rare example of a poem treating a secular and historical subject. It also presents some charming literary pieces. Here are some —

( 1 )

माडवि मिट्ठ चदासणी, सखी, उटणी नवरंग पाट कि,  
जाई सही य वधामणी, हृयडलू दृयं न माई कि, जो तु सही ॥  
हार निगोदर बहिरखा, सखी, नेवर रणसणमार कि ॥  
ब्राट कह नरि बनरमट, सखी, मोतीडे पूरु चूरु कि ॥  
तिलक भर कुडुमतणी, सखी, ते रंगि रात वधावु कि ॥  
अहुर दली आविड, सखी, शंकर छोडिड बंध कि ॥  
का-इडदे जीरे घगू, सखी, वेलिर मालदे वीर कि ॥

This is a song of welcome to the conquering hero, Kanhadade, on his first return from the battlefield after defeating the Mussulman army, a song in simple touches of the painter's brush presenting before us a group of city damsels wearing sashes of fresh tints, pearl necklaces on the bosom, wrist ornaments and jingling anklets, holding in their hands gold trays, decorating the courtyard with patterns studded with pearls, marking the hero's forehead with the red paint of welcome, and wishing long life to Kanhadade with his inseparable companion, his brother Vnāmade.

(2)

एक पहुती हो बगलही जी, तेहचा प्रेम अपार.  
 पीछा पोलई पारसि चडी जी, सख लीइ संभारि.  
 वह मर्द मन्मथ दृढ़पु जी, वह हूँ विरुण नारि.  
 पीछा परदेसि बीनवह जी, आपि आप संभारि.  
 दिवस दोहिला हूँ नीगमू जी, रथणि घणेरी थाइ.  
 विरहवेदना मादरी जी, पीछा विण रहणू न जाइ.  
 जू जलहीणी माछली जी जीरद नही जग मांहि.  
 कंतविद्वाणी हो कामिनी जी तिम तिम दीणी थाइ.

This is a sweet little lyric in the middle of a big narrative poem. The occasion is thus. The daughter of the ruler of Delhi is, by the poet's imaginative superimposition in the story, shown as in love with Viramadeva, brother of Kanhadeva, and she claims him as her husband in former birth. She goes as the King's representative to Jalore and interviews Kanhadeva and Viramadeva, a curtain being placed between her and the two Rajput princes. She then describes her union with Viramadeva in previous births, and her feelings on account of being separated from her rightful lord in the present birth. She contrasts her condition with the happy state of the female crane enjoying the company of her mate in the rainy season, blames her ill luck, attributing it to some unknown offence given to the god of love. She passes her days in misery and the nights grow long to her. She likens her condition to that of a fish taken out from a stream, pining as she is for her lover day and night. (Viramadeva accepts her account of previous births, but rejects her advances, and the story goes on in its course of bloody battle and death.)

(3)

पूर्ख प्रेम संभारि, आंसुडे भीउ हार जी,  
 गुण कीटी अवगुण पया, 'अद्य कहि काण तिणगार जी ?  
 सगुण सद्व्यापा राजड ? रुहणू रिसू ?  
 हूँ तां प्रेमगहेलही, तुं सोनगिर चहुभाणजी. .

તું તાં પ્રાણદ માહર, હું તાં તાદરી ઘરિ નારી જી;  
 જનમ એક અતરિ ગણ, સો નેહલુ મ વિસારિ જી.  
 હૃદયલહ ઘણુ ગદવડયું, તુ દુષિં ન અગ્રારા નાથજી,  
 તું અમરાપુરી સાંચરિં, હું મરણિ ન મેલું સાથજી.

After several ups and downs in the fight, Viramadeva is killed on the battle field, and his head is taken, embalmed, to Delhi, and when presented before the Delhi princes, the head turns the face away from her as, while alive, Viramadeva had sworn not to see the face of the princess. At this, the princess laments and the lament is embodied in this lyrical piece, just above quoted, wherein her unhappy condition is described in a few but expressive words. She recalls the love between her and Viramadeva in previous births, tears stream down and wet her necklace, and she hates the pearls on her neck, which, once charming, were now an aversion to her, for what was the object now in such adornments? She addresses the lover's head, "Oh graceful and accomplished Raval why are you offended with me? I am mad with love, although you were born in the Songura Chahuvan clan, you are the giver of life to me, I am your wedded wife, Oh do not forget the love we bore each other, only one birth apart! My heart is agitated, and you hear me not! Now that you have marched towards heaven, in death I will not leave thy company."

We have a number of works by several poets, subsequent to this period, which are noteworthy more for their linguistic interest than for literary merit of an outstanding nature. I shall therefore refrain from giving any specimens from them, and content myself with a mere mention of the names, authorship and dates of some of them. Here they are—

	Name of work	Author	Date
1	<i>Sitisharana</i> સીતાહરણ	Karmana Mantri	V S 1526
2	<i>Dashama Sandha</i> દશમ રક્ષણ	Kesava Kavi	V S 1529
3	<i>Hari lila</i> દર્શિલા	Bhima	V S 1541
4	<i>Prabodha-prakasha</i> પ્રબોધપ્રકાશ	Do	V. S 1546

It may be noted that No. 4 in this list is practically a synopsis of the Sanskrit play, *Prabhu Bhachan Irodaya*. The poet begins thus

प्रबोधचन्द्रोदयश्याद् (Sic ! स्याद्) यथाहुदि विवेचनम् ।

भीनृसिंहप्रसादेन करिष्येनि (Sic ! न) तिविस्तरम् ॥ २ ॥

We may skip over these works therefore and pertinently turn to other poets of the same and subsequent periods. We begin with

### *Bhālana*

His best known works are *Kidambari* (a metrical translation of Bāna's original work), and two *Nalikhyinas*. We have no time for other works out of his voluminous compositions. I cull only a few specimens —

*Kidambari* (about the middle of the 16th century V. S.)

( 1 )

वात करती एव कहि "मिधा गङ्गा ए काल ।

हृदिर्यं चांच्छु नहीं शुंदर देह वाल ॥

नाहानानाहाना दत वि नि शुंदर सुखु वान ।

शुश्र छसहु नहीं दीदु करावता एयपान ॥

चरण वागि घूघरी भगुडी यल्लु जाप ।

ए छुप दुं पामा नहीं दरि करुं शिशु डराय ॥

नेसालीधी भरी आरे पाटी सदिड दाधि ।

आइ कही बोलावतु घरि चाल घालि वाधि ॥

ए उठिव लीहु नहीं जे शुश्रमाता नाम" ।

एणी विरि मनि दुख आणि नित्य परति स्वामि ॥

(Pp. 41-42)

The simple charms of this beautiful passage is untranslatable. I shall not attempt a verbal or close translation, lest the poetry of the piece should escape in the attempt. I shall only describe the contents. Vilāsavati, King Tarāpidi's queen, is here depicted as lamenting the misfortune of her childless state. Her maid of honour relates to the king the queen's mental condition

"Fruitless", says the queen, "fruitless is my union with my husband! Oh when shall I ever clasp my child to my bosom and imprint kisses on his cheek? To me is denied the sight of my child laughing in my lap and displaying two tiny teeth and a face shining with its beauty, while having his drink from my bosom? When ever should I watch my child tripping lightly on his toes, the the anklet bells jingling on his feet? I see no help To see my child return from school, ink pot and writing board in hand, rushing up to me crying "Mummy dear" and holding me in his embrace, such happiness is not to be mine my desire for such happiness is denied its fulfilment Oh! my Laege Lord! daily mourns the queen this wise, the happy estate of motherhood being not her portion!"

This picture will appeal with real force to those who are familiar with Indian domestic life. This piece is Bhālaṇā's own contribution, not to be found in Bāṇā's original, and a happy contribution it is.

(2)

ણએપિરિ બૃદ્ધ કરી વિલાપ તુદ્વી પાંદ પઢાં આપ ।  
 છુટા કેશ નયણિ બહિ નીર શોકિ વિનાલ ધર્યું શરીર ॥  
 કશોછિ દ્વારિ ફેરવતી પાણિ રદ્દ કરંતી કોઢી ઘાની ।  
 હુંદ્રારીસ હું નિષુર ધર્યું દુલ ન જાળિ જે ભમતર્ય ॥  
 વઠિ કંઠિ લેઈ ધાંદ હાપ કરું જુંબન બોલું જિનાય ।  
 એકકાવણો ગ્રહી નિ કરું મન મહા શોર ધર્યી અતિ દાં ॥  
 ફઠિ પાવણી એકાવણી પાસિ હું તો કેઠિ મ્યણી ।  
 હું આર્દ્દ તિદ્દાં લગી નિર્વાણ વાહાલાના નવિરાલ્યા પ્રાણ ॥  
 કર્વિજલનિ કરુ પ્રણામ પાદુ મિત્ર જીગન્હ સ્વામિ ।  
 તરલિકાનિ વલગી ગળિ ગા હિ રોદ નિ મનિ વલી ॥  
 તેણી બેઢાં શોક વચ્ચન કિદીદું થાં જસરાં રહંનિ ।  
 અણાણીની પિહિલુ અમૃતસ કિહિ કિદી હું થી આવહુ નિશાસ ॥

(p. 116 II 7-13)

This passage comes in the story of Mahāśvetā related by her self to Chandrāpida. After describing in what terms she lamented the death of Pundariha she says

"Thus I went on lamenting over and over, I threw myself on the ground violently, the hair of my head flew wildly about, tears streamed from my eyes, and my whole frame was shaken with grief. I stroked my cheeks and my bosom with my hand, and crying aloud I spoke thus "Oh Pundarika ! Thou art heartless indeed ! For thou dost not realize my grief" Again I lifted him and put my arm round his neck, and showered kisses on him, crying "Oh ! my lord ! my beloved lord !" With heavy grief consuming my heart, I held in my fingers the pearl necklace (which was my love token sent to him), and addressing it I said "Shame to thee, oh wicked necklace ! You were close to him resting on his neck, verily you could have preserved the life of my beloved Pundarika the while I could come up." I bowed my head to Kapinjala and said "Oh ! my lord ! bring thy friend back to life !" Clinging to Taralikā's neck, I wept bitterly and was being consumed by grief. I wonder now whence at that time words of lament flowed from my lips in the midst of my weeping; how untaught at the first attempt I learnt to heave sighs of grief."

Ifere is a piece of unique charm and liveliness —

( 3 )

अनेक नारी, भूपण भारी, कंथरं करि केडि,  
विशापरह लोक जाणी अप्सरानि मेडि.  
चित्रशाला रमि याला, करि गणपर गान,  
दंप साचि नटी नाचि; जाणी अमर दिमान.  
द्वजा फरकि, गृदी सरकि, पंचरंग दुशान;  
मृदंग वागि सरस लागि देवमवन समान;  
उपवन द्वलि, मधुप द्वलि, वारं पाप दुर्गंप;  
बोकिल बोडि, तरुणी तोडि पतमो करवा अंप.  
जडजब्र चालि, फो न झालि, छांटा उडि नीर,  
रोहं राखि मधुर भादि, त्रिविष बहिः समीर.  
दादिम दोडि, वीर फांडि, बोडि मधुर वचन;  
मंदार मिहिकि, पुण्य डिहिकि बहुष वासित वंन.  
नारि चमकी, वदुर झमकि, उमकि चाडि चालि,  
वेणि चडकि, नाग सलकि; झालि झलकि गाडि.

પાણિ આલોદિ, અંગ મોદિ, જાણિ જોડી હાપ;  
મેલદા ખલકિ મેન ટલકિ; સુઘડ ચાલિ સાધિ.  
વંકિ ચાલિ નથન વાલિ, વાલિ સુનિનાં મંન,  
કોટિ કામિની રમિ ભામિની તેજ તસ્તી તંન.

( *Kaddamari, Pura bhāga*, p. 33 )

This description, full of variety and vivacity, is Bhālana's own contribution, not found in Bana's original.

Only one more specimen, this one from the *Nalālhyāna*.

( 4 )

વાંક કશો પ્રભુ માહારો રે આવી કહો માહારા નાપ રે ।  
દુઃખસાગરમાં દુદ્રતાં રે કંધની દીને હાપ રે ॥  
ધર્મરાય તહમો કાહાવીજા રે તે વિધણ કરશો નામ રે ।  
આવી આલિંગન દીજિએ રે મારા મનહાના વિધામ રે ॥  
ચોરીમાં જે કરું રે એહ આપણ ચિત્ત રે ।  
તે જૂદું નવ કીજિએ રે શું થયું જુજુડ ચિત્ત રે ॥  
મીટ આગાલ દેખું નહિ રે ઉત્તર નાપો આજ રે ।  
કિયા કાજમાં નાશી રણ રે કુહુને વાઢો છૌ મહારાજ રે ॥  
પ્રાણ ન જાએ પાપીઓ રે વાંદું નાવે મર્યાદ રે ।  
કંધ તજીને જો ગયા રે તો જાદુએ કોને શર્ણ રે ॥  
આ બન ગદન થીહામણું રે એકલી અચલા દેહ રે ।  
કીધી પૂરવ ભવતણાં રે કેમ ન આવે છેદ રે ॥  
સુખ સુફાએ માહારું રે જલ પાઓ રાજન રે ।  
મેં તો એવા દીણા જાણયા નહિ રે વીરસેનના તન રે ॥  
માહારું દુઃખ સુને છે નહિ રે દુઃખ તમારું થાય રે ।  
થાક્યા યદુ જહવારી વેસચો રે કોણ ચાંપણો પાય રે ॥  
હું બનકલ આણીને આપતી રે પિણુ શીતલ નીર રે ।  
સેવા સ્વામીની કરું રે મન રાખીને ઘીર રે ॥  
વાય સિંહને વાનરા રે બીહાને વઢવંત રે ।  
કોણ પણ કરતો નથી આણી ધેઢા અંત રે ॥

Damayanti, deserted unaware by her husband, Nala, in a trackless jungle, full of dangers from wild animals, addresses these lines to her unseen lord and pours out her grief in helpless solitude in words full of simple pathos

"How have I wronged you, of my lord ! Do come if only to tell me that My beloved I extend your helping hand when I am sinking down in the ocean of misery They called you the dutiful King, Oh ! do not falsify that name. Oh ! thou solace of my heart ! Come and clasp me in your soothing embrace At the marriage altar you swore that our hearts were one, do not prove that false now, can it ever be that our hearts should now be separate ? I do not see you before my eyes, I hear no answer from you now what has moved you to flee and hide yourself ! Or are you simply trying to deceive me in joke ? This wicked breath of mine leaves me not, the death I crave comes not to me When the husband has left and deserted me, whose shelter can I seek ? This thick forest frightens me, alone and weak woman that I am Pricking thirst dries up my lips, oh my lord I give me a cooling draught of water, verily I know the son of Virisena cannot be mean I care not for my own misfortune it is for you I am anxious, when, tired and worn out, you will drop down on the ground, who will soothe you with the stroking hand ? In our united wanderings I used to fetch you wild fruit and cool water for drink, patiently I used to wait on your comforts thus All about in this forest powerful tigers, lions and even monkeys, frighten me aul yet none of them puts an end to my life in this miserable life of mine !

Vimala-prabandha (V. S. 1568) Edited by Manilal B. Vyâs)

(1)

Khanda V

कदलीयं खंप जुभटी दंतपंति ते शदिम कटी ।  
पुष्टागाढ लाट अंसडी राता अधर मधुर भावटी ॥ ४३ ॥  
हरिटंकी हीडि मलपती गजबज ईस हराति गति ।  
रुपिं रंगा कि रोहिणी कि रुदाणी कि मोहिनी ॥ ४४ ॥  
अमरीहमरी जे उर्दंशी नाग लोरनी नारी जशी ।  
जोता रूप न आवृ पार उति पदिति एकादहि दार ॥ ४५ ॥

પાણ આલોદિ, અંગ મોદિ, જાળિ જોડી હાપ;  
 મેખલા ખલકિ મંન ટલકિ; દુષ્પદ ચાલિ સાપિ.  
 બંકિ ચાલિ નયન વાલિ, વાલિ શુનિવાં મંન,  
 કોદિ વામિની રમિ ભામિની તેજ તપતી તંન.

(*Kālamārī, Pūra II*)

आविस माघवर भाँखि मांहा आर्दि काजल देशि ।  
 पगी लांगू छहं पीट तुङ्ग म म जाइसि परदेशि ॥ २०७ ॥  
 आव आरीसामांहि तुं बंगण बांधुं कंठि ।  
 पितिपति खुलइ खप करी रिम्हइ न घृटइ गंठि ॥ २०८ ॥  
 आज अमोहामांहि घरं ईशतण्ड जिम गंग ।  
 हुं रिटपंती विरहिणी स्वामि म उंहिसि संग ॥ २०९ ॥

The fair heroine (Kāmī kandīla) whispers into the ears of her lover "Oh Mādhava ! Leave me not ! I shall construct a subterranean room to keep you therein. If it so pleases you I will hold you inside my heart, pray do not walk one step onward, leaving me behind. If you enter my eyes, I shall put up an obstruction by applying collyrium there, I beseech you, falling at your feet—do not go abroad. Come in front of the mirror, I shall lock you in a neck embrace and even if the sun opens out his petals, I shall not loosen the embrace. I will wear you today in the knot of the hair of my head, even as Śīla wears Gāngā. Afraid of being separated from you, I cry 'Leave me not, my Lord ! Leave me not !' [I have not touched stanza 203 as the sense is not quite clear.]

मांदरूप नीढी धर्द वसुमती वापिउ वाम ।  
 हुं सश्री स्वामी दिना शेजि निशी शमशान ॥ ६४४ ॥  
 आपण वरसइ सरपटे नयन न खंचइ पार ।  
 तेजि तणाउं तामा दिण स्थामी दि न परइ सार ॥ ६४५ ॥  
 पणग ते जाणे पाडणां पवन ते लाइ दूण ।  
 पटी पटी हुं तदकहं पीटि निवारइ दूण ॥ ६४६ ॥  
 गिरि गिरि वापइ येददी परि परि घूळ दिशाश ।  
 मंटइ मोर कटा घणी रिरहृजियातनि चास ॥ ६४७ ॥  
 दीशि न दिणपर दीशीइ नियि चाराशगिदीण ।  
 येदन वापइ विरहिणी दिण तिण धाइ रीण ॥ ६४८ ॥  
 धीज धचइ चातुक लचइ दादुर तिमरी तेय ।  
 विरहिणीभातनि येदना मादण सरइ दिशेय ॥ ६४९ ॥

In this piece the heroine, separated from her lover, laments her lonely condition and contrasts it with the joyous aspects of nature all

વીળિ દંદ ઠંડ લાહલદ્વારા રૂપિ ન રાણી પાસિં રહ્ય |  
કાને જદિત ખરી સીટલી જ્ઞાનકિ જ્ઞાનિ દ્વારા પાસિં બીટલી || ૪૬ ||

These lines describe, in more or less conventional similes, but in well chosen and melodious words, the beauty of Vimala's bride, Sri No translation is called for

(2)

Khanda VI

તરે પરદ્વિય પાય રહિયુ રદ નાંડી ભીમિ ભાડાદ્વિય માલ ભંડું |  
ઘણ ઘાય ઘડકિય સુર પરકિય દોમ સ્થાકિય ભારવંડું |  
ચલ ચંદ ચમકિય મેરુ ફરકિય તાંમ ધુસકિય ધોર ઘરા |  
જય વિમલ જમલિ મહી માલ ભંડંતદ્વારા પિકખદ સુખવર કોહિ નરા || ૯૮ ||  
ઘણ મિલાદ છુટિ કિ ભજદું તુટિ કિ ઉઠવિ ઉઠ ચંદત વદ્વા |  
ઘણ દર્થોદિલ્લિદ, વત્થોદત્થિદ, સત્થોદત્થિદ શીસ વદ્વા |  
કરિ કરદું કદકિય ભજદું ઇહકિ ધુજદું શુહકિ ભાર ભરા |  
જય૦ || ૧૧ ||

This is a description of a wrestling match between Vimala and a professional wrestler. The lines are written in a vigorous word style suited to the occasion

Madhavanala-dogdhaka-prabandha, *Anga*<sup>45</sup> V, V. S 1584  
by Ganapati, a Kāyastha

(1)

માધવ તુમ્હો મ ચાલિસિડ ગોરી ઝંપદ ગજા |  
ભલું કરાવિશિ ભૂર્દંહું માંહિ રાખિશિ તુજા || ૨૦૪ ||  
મેદી ભલી પરિ ભીતમાંહિ કઠ ઉર્દુ ફરેસિ |  
ભૂપ ભોળાવો ભવસિદ્ધિ વાદવ સિડ વિચેરેસિ || ૨૦૫ ||  
કાદિ તુ કાલિજ માદાં ઘરુ રાખુ દ્વદ્ય મશાહિ |  
મૂજાનિ મુકી માધવા પગલું રહે પથારિ || ૨૦૬ ||

45. This date is accepted on the authority of the following line at the conclusion of the Ms furnished by the Baroda Central Library: વેદ મુજાગમ બાળશારિ વિક્રમ વરસ વિચાર। Whereas 1574 is the year given at P. 113 of the Library Miscellany Vol 2, Nos 3-4 (મુજાગમ in the line quoted symbolizes the figure eight).

आविस माधवद भाँखि मांहा आर्दि काजल देशि ।  
 परी लागू छहं पीर तुश म म जाइसि परदेशि ॥ २०७ ॥  
 आव आरीसामाँहि तुं बंभण बाँधुं कंठि ।  
 वितिपति तुवद् सप करी किम्बद्द न छूटद गंठि ॥ २०८ ॥  
 आज अमोहामाँहि घरं ईशतण्ड जिम गंग ।  
 हुं विटपंती विरहिणी स्यामि म ढंडिसि संग ॥ २०९ ॥

The fair heroine (Kāmī Kandalā) whispers into the ears of her lover "Oh Ma Ilmī ! leave me not ! I shall construct a subterranean room to keep you therein. If it so pleases you I will hold you inside my heart, pray do not walk one step onward, leaving me behind. If you enter my eyes, I shall put up an obstruction by applying collyrium there, I beseech you, falling at your feet—do not go abroad. Come in front of the mirror, I shall lock you in a neck-embrace and even if the sun opens out his petals, I shall not loosen the embrace. I will wear you today in the knot of the hair of my head, even as Siva wears Ganga, afraid of being separated from you, I cry leave me not, my Lord ! leave me not" [ I have not touched stanza 205 as the sense is not quite clear ]

नादस्प नीढी पर्द वहमती वाखिड वान ।  
 हुं सरी स्यामी दिना शेजि निशी शमशान ॥ ६४४ ॥  
 आपण वरसद् सरपटे नयन न धंचद धार ।  
 तेणि तणाउं ताग विण स्यामी शि न फरद सार ॥ ६४५ ॥  
 पणग ते जाणे पाडणां पदन ते लाह दूण ।  
 पटी पटी हुं तटपट पीठि निवारद रूण ॥ ६४६ ॥  
 गिरि गिरि वापद् वेददी परि परि घल निवाश ।  
 मंटद मोर कला घणी विरहुणियातनि वास ॥ ६४७ ॥  
 दीक्षि न दिणयर दीक्षीद निशि ताराशयिहीण ।  
 वेदन वापद् विरहिणी सिण लिण धार तीण ॥ ६४८ ॥  
 धीज सचद चातुर लचद दादुर तिमरी तेय ।  
 विरहिणीभातनि वेदना भादण सरद निवेप ॥ ६४९ ॥

In this piece the heroine, separated from her lover, laments her lonely condition and contrasts it with the joyous aspects of nature all

दमयंती राय नउ तणी सुणो संदरी रे ।  
 ते चढी कवाढीने हाप गेहौली कोणे करी रे ॥ ११ ॥  
 दरिंदं तारालोचरी<sup>४१</sup> सुणो संदरी रे ।  
 ते धेचाणी पर हाप गेहौली कोणे करी रे ॥ १२ ॥  
 एंदा सरतीए भोगवृं सुणो संदरी रे ।  
 संध्यावती सदपाव गेहौली कोणे करी रे ॥ १३ ॥  
 पट्टांने महा दुःप पट्टां सुणो संदरी रे ।  
 तो आपण कोण माव गेहौली कोणे करी रे ॥ १४ ॥

(*Kadai* 23 of *Virata parva*)

In a simple but direct and appealing style the poet hero puts into the mouth of Yudhishthira words of comfort addressed to Draupadi when she related to him the insulting behaviour of Kichaka towards her—

"Do not grieve at all, my beautiful queen ! (I know) we have suffered immensely (But) happiness trends on the heels of mis fortune. What are our misfortunes by the side of those undergone by others. Sita, the purest of women, was carried away by Rakshas, Dimiyanti, Nala's queen, fell into the hands of a wood-cutter, Taramati, the consort of Harischandra, was sold as a slave to strangers, Vrinda passed through trying suffering so also the well behaved Sandhyaavati."

Here we may pause in our journeys. We have got an idea of the literature from the latter half of the fifteenth century (Vikrama era) to the middle of the seventeenth century. It will show the nature of the language of these two centuries, and more particularly the nature of the literature of that period <sup>42</sup>

47. *Tird lochani*,—This name is unusual, and found here for the first time. *Tirdmata* is the name usually and familiarly known.

48. We may throw here a side glance at the contribution to our literature made by Parsi writers during the early part of these two centuries. There are some Sanskrit translations of the religious works of the Parsis rendered from Avesta and Pehlavi by the 'well known priest Netiyossang Dhaval the Sanskrit was translated into Gujarati by priests who followed him, and we have got some fragments of this

about her "The month of Śrīvana is full of showers of rain, and from my eyes flow endless streams of tears, and I am carried away in that stream on and on, Oh ! my lord ! why do you not rescue me ?" (The author indulges in such conceits occasionally)

"Here in my bed I lie restless, who will remove my suffering ?" Agun, "On every mountain peak flourishes each creeper and flowers blossom all around, the peacock spreads out his wealth of feathers (in sheer joy);—while the parted lover suffers in body (and mind)" and so forth

### Nâkara.

V. S. 1550 to 1630 40

This poet was not much known till the discovery made by some research workers. I shall select only one or two specimens from his voluminous works.

राय शुषिदिर बोलिया उणो उंदरी रे । ५६  
 तु मा आणीश दुरा लार गेहेली कोणे वरी रे ॥ १ ॥  
 विषति पडे सप्त त्यां घटु उणो उंदरी रे ।  
 पास्यां दुखनो महि पार गेहेली कोणे वरी रे ॥ ९ ॥  
 सीता समान को साखवी उणो उंदरी रे ।  
 ते साही गया राधास सोए गेहेली कोणे वरी रे ॥ १० ॥

46 This double refrain appears to have been in fashion with poets of these times. Bhālina is the earliest poet who uses it in his *Kādambari* *Pūrva bhāg*, *Kādarś 10* (उणि उंदरी, गिहिली तुणि करी are the words, the sense fits in well there with the context). After that we find

- (2) Nâkara, *Virdita-parca*, *Kādarś 23* (V. S. 1601) as in the specimen in the text above,
- (3) *Visvānātha Jīnat, Aarsinha Mehta nu-Jitana Charitra*, *Kādarś 22* (V. S. 1708).
- (4) *Premboanda, Suddhānd Charitra*, *Kādarś 4* (V. S. 1738)

In (3) the sense does not fit in well with the context

I have not been able to investigate whether this refrain is used by Jain poets, or any poets other than those noted here. This much is certain, however, that Bhālina used it appropriately, and other poets copied it with varying appropriateness of sense.

दमयंती राय नल तर्णी उणो उंदरी रे ।  
 ते चढी कवालीने हाथ गेहैली कोणे करी रे ॥ ११ ॥  
 हरिशंद तारालोचरी<sup>47</sup> उणो उंदरी रे ।  
 ते धेचाणी पर हाथ गेहैली कोणे करी रे ॥ १२ ॥  
 उंदा सरलीए भोगङ्गु उणो उंदरी रे ।  
 संध्यासती सदपात्र गेहैली कोणे करी रे ॥ १३ ॥  
 घटांने महा दुःख पच्यां उणो उंदरी रे ।  
 तो आपण कोण मात्र गेहैली कोणे करी रे ॥ १४ ॥

(Kadarā 23 of Virata parva)

In a simple but direct and appealing style the poet here puts into the mouth of Yudhishthira words of comfort addressed to Draupadi when she related to him the insulting behaviour of Kichaka towards her—

“Do not grieve at all, my beautiful queen ! ( I know ) we have suffered immensely ( But ) happiness treads on the heels of mis fortune. What are our misfortunes by the side of those undergone by others. Sitā, the purest of women, was carried away by Rakshasas, Dīnyāntī, Nala's queen, fell into the hands of a wood-cutter, Tārāmatī, the consort of Harischandra, was sold as a slave to strangers, Vrindā passed through trying suffering & also the well behaved Sindhuśārati ”

Here we may pause in our journey. We have got an idea of the literature from the latter half of the fifteenth century ( Vikrama era ) to the middle of the seventeenth century. It will show the nature of the language of these two centuries, and more particularly the nature of the literature of that period <sup>48</sup>

\* 47. *Tird lochani*.—This name is unusual, and found here for the first time. *Tirdmata* is the name usually and familiarly known.

48. We may throw here a side glance at the contribution to our literature made by Parsi writers during the early part of these two centuries. There are some Sanskrit translations of the religious works of the Parsis rendered from Avesta and Pehlavi by the well known priest Noriyosang Dhaval the Sanskrit was translated into Gujarati by priests who followed him, and we have got some fragments of this

We may now go forward and look at the literature of the period after V S 1650. We shall however pass over the three minor lights, Vasto, Vachharāj and Tulsī of the sixteenth century of the Christian Era. They are generally regarded as solitary stars in the firmament of the poetic literature of that period. The reason assigned is the politically disturbed state of the country. Govardhanram M. Tripathi in his "Classical Poets of Gujarat (P. 27), accounts for this darkness in the literary history of Gujarat by this disturbed condition. He includes in this the period from 1472 A D (=V S 1528)—when

Gujarāti,—or rather the language then prevalent in Gujarat, given in the Appendices to these works published under the auspices of the Parsi Pancayat and edited by the late lamented scholar, Sberārji Bberubā. A glance at the language shows that it must belong to a period ranging between the fifteenth century and the eighteenth century (Vikrama era). The date of Neriyosang himself is not yet finally settled. But it is believed by scholars of authority that he flourished about the latter half of the twelfth century A D (See S K Hodivala's "Parsis of Ancient India, p. 54, where he puts 1166 A D as Neriosang a probable date). There is therefore every probability that his Sanskrit was translated into the local language. This happened several centuries after the Parsis landed at Sanjān at the close of the seventh century A D or during the last quarter of the eighth century. (Mr. Shapurji K. Hodivala gives 696 or 697 A D as the date of this landing. See his "Parsis of Ancient India P. 50, Col 1 Dr. Jivanji J. Modi in his book entitled "A Few Events in the Early History of the Parsis", p. 9 fixes the date as 785 A D.) I need not here go into the controversy about this date. But this much I must say that Dr. Jivanji Modi's paper on the *Kisse-i-Sanjān* convincingly establishes the date 785 A D, while Prof. S. H. Hodivala, in his paper on 'The Traditional dates of Parsi History, *Journal of the Iranian Association*, Vol. II, No. 10 January 1914, tries to discredit this view. But in my mind he has run into several errors, the main cause whereof is his incorrect interpretation of certain portions in the *Kisse-i-Sanjān*, especially the word "badāngdhā" (p. 316 J. I. A. January 1914) wrongly rendered as 'in those times' or 'during that period', the correct sense being 'at that time', and then calling the time 'delightfully vague' (p. 317). The passage in the *Kisse-i-Sanjān* which says "Islam entered Chirnpaner 500 years after its arrival in India" which fits into Dr. Modi's argument properly is brushed aside by Prof. Hodivala in a superficial manner.

Junagadh was conquered by Mahomed Begada—to 1573 A. D. (=V. S. 1629). Was this, however, a period of darkness in poetic literature? A glance at the chronology of poets and their works just now related will disprove it. Just see—

V. S.	Poet and work.
1526	<i>Sitā-haraya</i> by Karmāṇa Mantri.
1529	<i>Dāsama Shandha</i> by Keshava
1490-1570	Bhālaṇa
1541	<i>Hari-līlā</i> by Dhīma.
1546	<i>Pṛmbodha-pralāta</i> by dō.
1548	<i>Ushā-haraya</i> by Jauīrdana.
1568	<i>Vimala-prabandha</i> by Līvānyasamaya Gāṇi.
1581	<i>Mālharāñala-prabandha</i> by Gāṇapati.
1550-1630-40	Nākura.

These poets and their works were not discovered, not all of them, when Govardhanrām wrote his above named paper, and he is not much to blame for his incorrect estimate of the literary situation during this period. An intellectual inspiration like that which discovered the missing minor planets between Mars and Jupiter, would have perhaps stimulated the discovery of these poets. But they are brought to light by the milder process of accident, and we are all the same thankful to those who have thus brought before us works—several not yet published—belonging to this period which no longer can be regarded as one of literary darkness.

The period of half a century between 1650 and 1700 V. S. appears blank just now. Thereafter we have

### Viśvanātha Jāṇi (V. S. 1708).

His noteworthy work deals with episodes in the life of Narasinha Mehta, which has been drawn upon profusely by Premanāndī Kavi of extensive fame who followed him or was more or less his contemporary. I subjoin a few typical extracts.—

एक रथ मनोहर माती आण्यो सथड सपळे अग ।

एक दहू बळद ने आपलो जोतर्या जोडी प्रसंग ॥

સદ્ગુરુ કટકે વળી સાંગી શોમાનો નહિ પાર ।  
 ખટખટ ચેચું ચાદતાં વહુ શબ્દ થાયે સાર ॥  
 દાંકતાં વેસે વલદિયો ભારુલો તાણી જાય ।  
 નાથે જાલયા નવ રહે નરાનતર વહુ થાય ॥  
 ચઢે વેસે ને જતરે તાણે જાણી નાથ ।  
 જે કૃષ્ણ વાણી ઓચરે એમ પોદોસ્યો સયદો સાથ ॥

This describes Narasinha Mehta's journey to the town where his daughter stayed, the chariot a loan from some one, so beautiful that all its parts were slack and disjointed, to it were yoked two bulls, one a gelding (bullock) and the other an entire bull, the seat of the vehicle was strung with bits of string broken into a thousand pieces, such was its beauty, and the chariot, while in motion, gave squeaking and rattling noises, the bullock, when driven, stopped down on its haunches, while the bull pulled the carriage away, unrestrained even when held by the nose string, Narasinha Mehta had to get off the carriage and pull the immovable bullock by the nose string, and vainly prompt him by exclaiming "Victory be to Krishna!"

The news of the arrival of this saint having reached the daughter's parents in law the ladies of the house, with a sense of the comical rushed out to see the novel sight —

કોણ સામધીશું આધ્યો છે માદ્યો કુંવર વદ્ધનો તાત ॥  
 સ્વર્ગંધી જેમ અપ્સરા દોડે અમરાવતીને કાજ ।  
 યલ્લકતી ચૂઢી રૂપે રૂઢી નેહે નમતી દાજ ॥  
 અલલ અર્હી શું રહી જમી મહેતો આધ્યા દ્વાર ।  
 કારજ મૂકી કામિની ઇસવા લાગી નાર ॥  
 શંસણી સાહસો જમી મંટો શીશ અંબર ઓડ ।  
 કુંભર કેઢે શું ચદાદ્યો તરણી પદરો અચોડય ॥  
 મેરય અર્દ્ધિયી રહે અલગી ચંપાજો માહારો પાય ।  
 ઉરજ માહારે અંગ સુંચે જોવાનો નહિ ડાગ ॥

The beautiful damsels are rushing forth like Apsarâs from heaven, their bangles jingle while they run, their crowding one another

is described by the talk amongst themselves "Silly one ! Why do you stand motionless ? Lo ! the Mehtā has come to the door" (leaving their work all the young women turned to laugh at the sight) "Oh, you wench ! your husband is standing in front, draw your *sādū* over your head" "Why are you carrying your child on your hip ?" "Death seize you, girl ! stay away from me ! you are treading on my foot, and your bosom hurts me, you won't get a glimpse here". (This exchange of words amongst the women folk reminds one of a similar passage in Bhālīna's *Kālambārī*, part I, *Kālī* 10. The following lines find a distinct echo in Nākāra's description —

चंचलदृश्ये धीतु, देखि तुज भरतार,  
अवर्द्धं ओढ़यू पिशाचिणी । ए हसिडि संसार. (p 59, II 8-9)  
पशेपरि पीढ़ी घर्य, पाठी रहि घगार,  
एकली गूर रंधी रही, जोया आतु गार.

(p 59, II 8-9) (p I bid, II 14 15)

Vishṇudasa.

(V. S. 1634 to 1716, the period covered by the dates of his works)

(This Vishṇudasa was a Nāgīra by caste and belonged to Cambay, he is not to be confounded with another of the same name, a son of Bhālīna, who completed his *Uttam Kanda*, in V. S. 1575.)

The following extracts from the *Harischandra Bhāṇḍa* composed by Vishṇudasa of Cambay will be instructive —

(1)

तारा एँ रे वायक संभटी आरंद वरे रे अपार;  
चेतन पारे रे परणी दली वरती टदेमां रे प्रहार. १.  
बली जागीने रे बहु पेर बलवंदे ददन करे रे आंउपार;  
आरंद वरती रे गई उथनमां ज्यां पडयो रे निज कुमार. २  
मांरा दुंभर वाला रे क्यां पोच्यो वनमां य,  
तुज पारे हूं एकरी केम देह रामु लां य. १  
छुजपारे रहेतो नदि रे हूं लडायती अनदेन;  
ते धीतारी उत्र तें भाज वास पर्यो केम वंन. २.

ખુલ્લ પામી સહુ જાણતી તે મિથ્યા કીધો સોહ;  
 હું મંદ ભાગ્યણીને તજી વાહલા વાં કર્યો વિછોહ. ૩.  
 જહુનીને છેહ ન દીજિયે પુત્ર તુજને ન ઘટે એમ;  
 મીઠા મહુરા વાહુડા વીસાંદ્ર વાહલા કેમ. ૪.

\* \* \* \* \*

ઉઠો હત મંદિર જદ્યે સર્વે જોતા દશે વાટ,  
 રીસાંદ્ર નહિ પોદિયે રે સત કાં કર્યું છનાટ. ૭,  
 શુને મા કહી કોણ વોલાવરો મારી કોણ પૂર્ખે આશ,  
 કર્મદીણ હું કામનીને તે ક્યમ પૂકી રે નિરાશ. ૮

Tārā, the queen of Harischandra, on hearing of the death by snake bite of her only son, began to lament and beat her bosom, and dropped on the ground in a swoon. Awaking from her swoon, she again cried and wept and went to the garden where the body of the prince lay. Addressing the dead son, she cried

"My sweet prattling child, why are you lying asleep in this forest? Without thee, I am lonely, how shall I remain alive now? You did not stay without me, and I fondled you day after day. Forgetting all these happy days, why are you now lying here in this forest? Hitherto I felt I was happy, you have removed that fond illusion of mine. Why have you left me, unfortunate woman that I am? It is not meet that you should give a slip to your mother thus. Oh! sweet darling boy of mine, how ever shall I forget thee?"

"Get up my dear child! let us go home, they must all be waiting for us. It does not believe you to take offence and lie down thus. Oh who will now address me as "mother?", who will fulfil my hopes? Why have you left me in this state of despair, unfortunate woman that I am?"

AKHO (V S 1671-1730)

We now approach a vigorous and powerful writer whose works, though not poetic in the strict sense of the word, possess a philosophy which very frequently covers the regions of poetry of a sublime order.

True, most of his *akhappas* are *cryptic* aphorisms pregnant with metaphysical thought but his works, like *Akhegild* for instance, possess a rare admixture of philosophical depth and poetic sublimity, in which Akho is unrivalled. We must content ourselves with some select specimens —

Akho begins his *Uth pta* with the statement that he, a mere non-existent self, projects in this work the representation — even phantasma of words, of his spiritual absorption into *Brahma*, and the joy he drinks therefrom —

अणुतो अलो अध्यारोप करे ते कथा निज भानन्दनी।

The poem, after passing through various intricacies of *Brahma* philosophy, concludes by giving full expression to this joy,—joy in the attainment of the goal, viz. absorption in *Brahma* —

(1)

अभिनवो आनन्द भाज भगोचर गोचर हु ए ।

एरवंचपार महाराज ते पूरण भव स्तवु ए ॥

X	X	X	X
---	---	---	---

X	X	X	X
---	---	---	---

स्त्रे चैतन्यघनराप गन्धमां सोहामणो ए ।

ते नाये वाणी मांत ते नदि विराट ने वामणो ए ॥

X	X	X	X
---	---	---	---

X	X	X	X
---	---	---	---

ए जाप्ये जाप जंजाल यग्नरथ ज्यम त्यम घुं ए ।

जिहां कर्म न लागे काळ सभर भराह ते रहुं ए ॥

तिहां हुं मन लेडीन जह चैतन्य सभर भाँ ए ।

नदि वो दाता दीन तन्मय सहजे सम घुं ए ॥

प्रगत्रां कोटि वल्दाण आपापर विलहरे रहु ए ।

सदा सदोदित भाण उदे अस्त वारण गाँ ए ॥

कहे अत्रो आनन्द अतुभवने लहौवा तणो ए ।

एहो पूरण परमानन्द नित्य सराहुं अति धणो ए ॥

'What unknown bliss is mine to-day? I grasp the grasping thing. Praise be to the Perfect *Brahma*, the one Great Lord who

stands transcendent far beyond this phenomenal world. The permanent Living Soul shines of His own accord in the expanse of Nothingness. He cannot be described in speech, He is neither Universe-filling large nor dwarflike small. Knowing Him all false appearances melt away, He stands in His real nature. Neither Karma nor Time affects Him. He fills the Universe brimful. Thenem the mind of man lies absorbed, united with the Supreme Life in full measure. There is no giver or receiver automatically. He gets into the union of identity. Mindful bliss is born now self and non self vanishing now, He stands the sole Remunder. He is the ever risen Sun, the cause of rising and setting gone.' Akho relates this joy of knowing Him. I praise Him, who is Perfect Joy.

In a distinct but distinct manner these lines remind one of Wordsworth's well known lines in his *Excursion*, which may be briefly quoted here —

• Such was the boy-bait for the growing youth  
 What soul was his, when from the naked top  
 Of some bold headland he beheld the sun  
 Rise up, and bathe the world in light! He looked—  
 Ocean and earth, the solid frame of earth  
 And ocean's liquid mass, in gladness lay  
 Beneath him far and wide the clouds were touched,  
 And in their silent fires could be read  
 Unutterable love. Scorn needed none  
 Nor any voice of joy, his spirit drank  
 The spectacle—seen then, soul and form,  
 All melted into him.      x      x      x  
 x      x      x      x      x      x

In such access of mind, in such high hour  
 Of visitation from the living God,  
 Thought was not, in enjoyment it expired

Verily, in the foregoing description of his અભિવ્યક્ત આત્માનું we can picture Akho standing on the naked top of a bold headland,—the

heavens of spiritual exaltation, and witnessing beneath him the ocean of Heavenly Light, wherein sensation, soul and form (जन, जाति and जेय) all melt into him, when he needs not thought, in enjoyment it expires.

Akho, in one place, speaks of the *spirit* the Universal Soul, perceiving the visible world and likens it to the Moon flooding with her light forest, glub, and palacesomes, even so, he sits, the Spirit manifests itself in the cove of man's heart —

उदय उजावो दे जेम चंद्रमा जी,  
स्त्रिय तेहरां पसरे बन, बीधी, मंद्रमां जी, 48  
तेम सरयो आतम भासे कीट इन्द्रमां जी,  
एहरो प्रगत्रो हृदया-कन्द्रमां जी.

(*Allo-Gita*, XII-1.)

This description may well be placed side by side with Wordsworth's, in the above extract, when he shows the rising sun batheing the world in light.

( 2 )

I now select a different specimen from *Allo-gita* itself, wherein the dry stream of भूमि is converted into a living flood of भूमि. This side-current is generated by what is known as सर्वात्मभाव, the sense of the presence of *Atma* (=Brahma) in every individual

ते हरि हरि देये सकलमां जेहने जीव जीव करी देवतो ।  
हरि जाणी हेत करे सकलमां पेहेलां ने उद्देवतो ॥

(*Allo-gita*, X-1.)

This serves as a stepping-stone from the feeling of human brotherhood to devotion ( भूमि ) towards God

उद्देव न करे कोपनो भातमा गिलसी रहो ।

(*Had*, XI.)

48. Kipling's description of the rising moon ( in *Vilramavathin* ) presents a similarly vivid and charming picture in a few strokes.

ररियावसते रतां क्रियावे उपया उर्पयते वित्तन् उरांथ ।

तमसां नियि घुण्टां निहन्ये दरधारानिहितारमने नमस्ते ॥

(Act III, 6.)

In the initial stage the vision of the devotee is directed to the phenomenal and human pageant as a manifold manifestation of the *One* into *Many*, the eternal dance play of Brahmi getting into the forms of multifarious *dramatis personae*.

निल रास नारायण केरो देरो ते धनंत अपार ।

जिहां जेह्वो तिहां तेह्वो नारायण नरनार ॥

(Ibid, XI-5)

From this is but one step to a devotional attachment to God. Here is the passage describing this stage—

गदगद केठे गाते थके रोमांचित होये गात ।  
 हं पे आंह बहु हेत हृदय प्रेम केह ते पात्र ॥  
 खातो पीतो बोलतो देखतो ते सगळे राम ।  
 वेध्युं मन रहे तेहुं शिखिल संसारी काम ॥  
 नवनीत सरखुं हुदे कोमळ कलुं न जाए हेत ।  
 आंत माहे भस्त भरियुं हरि भक्ति केहं क्षेत्र ॥  
 इयम जार वडुंपी युवती तेहुं मन रहे प्रीतमपात ।  
 अहर्निश रहे आलोचती भाइ एहुं मन हरिदास ॥

(*Alhe-gītā*, vi)

This passage breathes a feeling of भक्ति almost of the *Dvaita* school type, fairly far removed from Śankara's Advaitic भक्ति.

In this connection it will be interesting to compare Narasinha Mehta's attitude towards ज्ञान and भक्ति with that of Akho. The ज्ञान poems of Narasinha are full of Advaitic ideas and expressions, and are all the same alive with *poetic fire*. Akho rarely blossoms into sublime poetry in style of thought and speech. To Narasinha the Brahman appears as to a poetic soul, and he cries निरखने गगनमां कोण धमी रहो ते ज हुं ते ज हुं शब्द बोले ! The dry ज्ञान of सोऽहम् ("I am He", or the *In al Hāk* of the Sufis) sufficeth not, he sees Him moving in the expanse of the firmament and hears Hua sing "I am He". Narasinha speaks of Brahmi as showing His charms to Brahmi Himself (ब्रह्म लटकां करे ब्रह्म पासे), in poetic style, where Akho has the dry expression आप केहं रूप आप वयाणे जी. This is due to the fact that while Narasinha's भक्ति represents the worship of सगुण ईश्वर Akho

has his face turned more towards the निर्मूण phase of Brahma, and his भक्ति is rooted in the idea that शनि itself amounts to भक्ति, for you *knote* and you *must love*. Narasinha like the shepherd damsels of Gokula was not satisfied with the शनि preached to them by Uddhava. To Narasinha as to these Gopis the diffuse moonshine was not enough (note, please, it was welcome, but not enough). He and the Gopis were craving (not crying) for the moon. It was not merely a longing for something afar from the sphere of their sorrows. But Brahma or Īśvara (Krishna) was to him the object of his प्रेमभक्ति (devotion of love). He was such as he could catch and imprison in his heart and secure by the increst thread of love (प्रेमना संतमां संत शाले), the One who was भक्त अविनाशी ए नव ज जाए कल्पी, अरपत्रप नी मांदि महाले, Narasinha's Lord who pervaded all space, could be caught and held by devotion based on love<sup>49</sup>. Thus attitude can be understood if we note the different turn given to प्रेमभक्ति by Kavi Dvārakām, the Gopis in one of his charming रसवीर's say to Uddhava—

दमारा प्रभु सधङ्के रे, दमारा तो एक स्थङ्के,  
दमो रीओ चांदरणे रे, दमो रीमु चन्द मल्पे;

the एक स्थङ्क (the centre where their God was to be localized) being their hearts.

And yet, from the angle of vision of शनि the nature of God was incomprehensible (अङ्गल अविनाशी ए नव ज जाए कल्पी), and diffuse (अरपत्रप नी मांदि महाले, नरसैयापो स्वामी सकल व्यापी रहो), it was only apprehensible by the intellect of man. He is like a woman's heart, elusive you know it least when you think you know it most, or, as the *Kenopanishada* tells us—

यस्यामतं तस्य मतं मतं यस्य न येद सः ।  
अविज्ञातं विज्ञानता विज्ञातमविज्ञानताम् ॥

In the case of a woman's heart age-long conventions of society operate, as the आदरण शक्ति of *Miyā* operates in the case of Brahma.

I have wandered far let us return to Akh, and look at only one more specimen, a specimen of unique beauty and poetic sublimity

( 3 )

ભણતી ભજા તમારી અંગીણું ઉરતી અગ્રી ।  
તે મધ્ય પદિયું પામ તમાર લ્યારે ઈખર ગંને વિલસી ॥

\* \* \* \* \*

જેમ કાચહુ મદિર રચયું નીડ પીત શુભ્ર દ્વામનું ।  
તે ઉપર તથ્યો સુરજ જ્યારે લ્યારે વિચિત્ર રૂપ ધયું પામનું ॥  
બેબન્ય સુરજ તરે સદા માયા તે મદિર કાચ ।  
ઈખર નામ તે તેદનું જીર ધર્દ માન્ય સાચ ॥  
અધિકાન તે તમે હુગામી તેણે એ ચાલનું જાય ।  
અણાતો જીર હું હું કરે પણ ભંડ ન પ્રીણે પ્રાય ॥

( Akhigiti, XIX )

Strikingly enough one is reminded by these lines of Shelley's well known lines in Adonais —

' The One remains, the many change and pass,  
Heaven's light for ever shines, Earth's shadow flies,  
Life, like a dome of many-coloured glass,  
Stains the white radiance of Eternity,  
Until Death tramples it to fragments '

Akh speaks of *Mayî*, the non-existent entity, when Brahman takes her to himself, His (Its) light enters her and then she reveals as the Creative God. He says Take an elixir of glass of various colors, green, yellow, white and black, which assumes a variegated appearance when the sun shines on it, *Mayî* stands and on her the Absolute Brahman ever throws His (Its) raiment and then she becomes *Îvara* (Creative God) and assuming the form of the individual soul, she appears as a reality. You Oh Lord, are the fundamental basis and source, and from you all this emanates and moves the *Jîva* (individual soul) exists not yet feels he is a separate entity and knows not the mystery of Brahman.

I give the purport of Akh's lines in a brief way, only to mark the points of similarity and difference between his and Shelley's conception and expressions. The striking similarity between the two

can only be explained by the consideration that certain ideas are common property of the human race in the thinking mind of man, and that God inspires different persons with the same light—the final source of poetic insight being God Himself. And yet, in this particular instance, the similarity in the details of the imagery strikes one as rare and inexplicable in a sense.

### TULASI (V. S. 1732) <sup>51</sup>

He was a Rāyakavat<sup>52</sup> Brāhmaṇi. I possess a copy of his *Pundarikāmēdī* made from a Ms. in the possession of a Rājka Brāhmaṇa living at Nikol, a village  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles from Ahmedabad. Here are some specimens from it.

(1)

#### THOU, MOTHER OF ALL

भद्रे कर्ण लक्षण तुम दीरे हुं वनमां तरलोडी ।  
इने तमारे शो शुण पाने हुं शुद्ध वर जोडी ॥ ३ ॥  
एकलदी वनिता वन्य मूँकी लक्षण कथम रेवाने ।  
प्रीण जशे फाटीने मारे ते दुष कथम सेवाने ॥ ४ ॥  
मीं पृतक शो कीयो देवां रामे रावत मायो ।

51. This is the date given in the concluding stanza of the poem  
संगत सततरत्तरसामां पूरण कीयो संप जी ।  
ध्या कर्तीने लेपन कीपुं प्राणमापा संप जी ॥ ५ ॥

A. 1832

संगतसतरत्तरसामां देवापे उभवार जी ।  
प्रशोदगी रविगासरने दित पूरण धो दितार जी ॥ १० ॥

52. This caste has furnished a number of *Ustads* and *Parolis*, and is therefore known for the attachment of its members to Sanskrit literature and language so well know that as popular joke has it, when offering a service of dishes at their great dinners the servers of those dishes are asked to shout the names of the courses in broken-English language (e.g. वृत्तगोपाल for शी and गृहुत, दार्शनिल for जलेफी and so forth. Any how, they have Sanskritized their caste name into Rājka Brāhmaṇa, and have a Rājka *Purāṇa* claiming antiquity for their source and history.

वैशानरमां नांखी ताव्यो त्वांथी देह उगायो ॥ ५ ॥  
 जो मरती तो सुखिणी थाती जीव्ये थयो संताप ।  
 दुष पोताहुं केने कैये माहं पोते पाप ॥ ६ ॥  
 लक्ष्मण जै राघवने केजो भलुं कहुं भूपाल ।  
 वेदपुराण तणी गत्य चाट्या दालीने जंजाल ॥ ८ ॥  
 लक्ष्मण त्ये राखी बन मध्ये खरदूषण जयां आव्या ।  
 जम राते बांधव भगिनीने त्यम मारे मन भाव्या ॥ ११ ॥  
 आज तमे दूकीने जालो त्यार पठी थुं थांगे ।  
 राक्षस वाघ वरु वन्द जाक्षा ते मने मारी खांशे ॥ १२ ॥  
 फौशल्याद्युतने जै केजो ए संदेशो धीर ।  
 शो अपराध इतो रथुनंदन नार्य तजी वन्य धीर ॥ १३ ॥  
 सुखिया थांगो निर्मल रेजो रखे धरो मन्य ताप ।  
 बांक तमारो फांय नधी मने पीड मारा पाप ॥ ॥ १४ ॥  
 मन माहं छे चरणे तारे खणु न अलगुं थाय ।  
 शुक्री चरणसरोहु तारं केने बलगुं थाय ॥ १५ ॥  
 शुभ्यमचंद्रतणे भास्तर मुख शोभे रघुवीर ।  
 ते दर्शन ते दुर्भ वीरुं राघव शांम शरीर ॥ १६ ॥

The language of this is evidently classical and elegant, as coming from a Purlit. The ideas may, with interest, be compared with those in Sita's message to Rama in *Raghuvamsha*, *Sarga* XIV, or with that in Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*. The line वेदपुराण तणी गत्य चाट्या दालीने जंजाल is a dramatic turn, to be contrasted with the direct, simple, and open-hearted turn in *Raghuvamsha* XIV, st. 61

वाच्यस्त्वया मद्वचनात्स राजा वद्नी विघ्नामपि यत्समधम् ।  
 मां लोकगादधरणादहासीः श्रुतस्य किं तत्सद्वर्णं दुलस्य ॥

Both have their own value and fitting power

( २ )

FROM ADH 111

सौन करी गंधर्वने तप वीणा छीधी पांप ।  
 गृह्य कारण कया सांप्रत वेप चतुर उजाण ॥ ६४ ॥

राग पंचम तांत्र साधन मादृत तान समान ।  
 हृष्ण आगल्य रही ऊर्भी मन्य घरी भगवान् ॥ ६६ ॥  
 क्षपभ ने गांधार मध्यम पद्म धेवत जेह ।  
 पंचमूर्छी (? पंचम छट्ठी) सातमो थिनि निषष्ठ (निषाद) साम्यो तेह ॥ ६७ ॥  
 मूर्छना एक्षीत तेनी तानपूरित गान ।  
 काकळि कलरव करे संतोषवा भगवान् ॥ ६८ ॥  
 हाव भाव कटाक्ष इरिषुणमान झुद्दीफेर ।  
 ताल वीणा चरणनगुर वज्रादी ल्ये शेर ॥ ६९ ॥  
 नाद कोकिल वरे जांध्ये रूपनो नहि पार ।  
 अंग शोभे अतिमला जे तन शजिया शणगार ॥ ७० ॥

The poet incidentally discloses in this passage rare and remarkable familiarity with the minute technicalities of the art and science of music: the reference to काकळी is really significant in this direction. The idea conveyed in मादृत तान समान i. e. the agreement between the beating of the *mridanga* and the play on notes (तान) really marks a true artist's appreciation of the preserving of the time value along with the singing and play on notes

( ३ )

## FROM ADHYĀYA XVIII

नगर मध्ये संचर्यां जे समे जारद वीर ।  
 दांस्य दांस्य गोप्य चढ़ी जुए बहु नार्य शंकशरीर ॥ १३ ॥  
 मस्तक मुशुट सोहांमजो फलपगे दिनकर उपोत्त्य ।  
 मैषधटामां बीमली जम निशामां खयोत ॥ १४ ॥  
 फर्ने कुँडल जलइले मणिपद राजित थेह ।  
 कंठ कौस्तुभ ओपतो बहु तेज शोभे जेह ॥ १५ ॥

The simile in the second half of stanza 14 is really striking in its natural charm, and classical stamp. I remember to have heard this line in a different rendering in my childhood from the mouth of our family Sāstri who used to read this poem before our family audience. It ran thus—

निशाकाङ्क्षे मल्लके उपम उपामां खयोत ॥

Whether it was in the present context or elsewhere (perhaps describing the shining of swords in the midst of a battle) I do not recollect <sup>11</sup>

### Premānanda.

(V S 1692 to 1790)

is, by almost unanimous acceptance amongst students of Gujarati literature, regarded as a masterly writer of objective poetry, brilliant, powerful, and versatile. His writings are voluminous and it is difficult to cull out specimens from all the various types adopted by him. He is most popularly known as the poet who wrote *Naldhhyāna*, *Olādharana*, and several other *dhhyānas* based on Purānic stories, non Purānic poems like *Narsinha Mehtā nū Mōmeri* and poems dealing with other incidents in the life of Narsinha Mehtā. It is true that

52. The same family Śāstri told me an amusing anecdote about this poet, who belonged to his caste and who had heard the story from persons who got it by tradition handed by kinsfolk. The poet was reading his *Aṣvamedha* before the audience of his village-men at their special request for a vernacular work, as they were satiated with Sanskrit Purāna recitations at his hands. Half a dozen friends of the poet, his caste-men, happened to give a surprise visit at this recitation in Gujarati. He welcomed the interruption, received the friends warmly, and gave them seats on either side of himself. Being permitted and requested by the guests to continue the *Kāshā*, the poet started the occasion was that of Rāma in the performance of his *Aṣvamedha*, seated in the centre surrounded on each side by the monkey soldiers and generals. The poet took up the thread of the description of this assembly and sang

આગજ પાછજ ધાનર બેગ દચમાં રઘુપતિ રામ !

While repeating this he pointed with his hand the guests on each sides, when saying આગજ પાછજ ધાનર, and pointed his finger at himself when uttering the words દચમાં રઘુપતિ રામ. The whole assembly, including the guests, burst into a merry laughter. The poet in explaining this practical joke, said "Look here, friends ! These village people said to me we are tired of sweet dishes like Sanskrit, let us have a taste of the sour hot tasting cords (ટાણ) of the vernacular. So, brethren, you never came to my treat of Sanskrit *Amṛta*, and now come when I am serving them poor *ṭāṇ* of the *Prakrit*. What can you be, then, but monkeys ?"

he has walked in the footsteps of his predecessors and borrowed, occasionally wholesale, or copied from the *dhhyānas* written by Viśvānātha Jani, Nākara, and Bhālana <sup>53</sup> But a comparative glance at the originals and copies will show that Premānanda imparted to his compositions original charm and power. There is no room for giving copious extracts from his writings, and I must content myself with giving only one specimen from a comparatively less known *dhhyāna* of his, which, however, possesses real poetic value as an objective composition. It relates to the love springing in the heart of Vishayā at the sight of her hitherto unseen lover, Chandrahīsa. The latter, arrived as an utter stranger, is sleeping in a park under a mango tree on the bank of a lake, the noble steed which carried the hero being tethered close by the sleeping knight, and Vishayā, coming to the spot during one of her daily visits of pleasure with her female friends, suddenly sees the novel sight. She has strayed away far from her friends, the only living being present is the horse close by, Chandrahīsa lying asleep on the ground. She addresses the horse thus—

रथे चतुर दुरी करेतो स्वामीने, जागरो तो य धाये ?  
 निद्रावशपी केम ऊङ्गु ? पछे दुं वहेतारो ?  
 हे अभ ! हे अति अदृपम, रहार्द स्वृ वान,  
 मानी रे लेउङ्गु हुं मानिनी, रथे वरतो स्वामीने जाण.  
 रहार्द रसनजदित छुस म्होरहो वरयाचल ऊपो भाण;  
 पेगर्दा त्वारां परम मनोहर, रसनजदित पलाण.  
 पदुं वहेती आली चतुरा चचल नयणे जोप—  
 रथे सल्ली सदिपर आपणी दृपी रहीने जोप.

The girl, proud by birth and breeding, here assumes the role of a suppliant, and hence her words मानी रे देउङ्गु मानिनी ("Proud maiden, I, beseech you now—"pray do not give me away to your Master"),—

53 Premānanda's borrowings from his predecessors may be compared with similar borrowings by Shakespeare. However, Premānanda's copy is too often almost *verbatim* reproduction though he has added his own charm and art. This feature indicates no detriment to Premānanda as an original poet.

especially the term માનિની is full of significance. Just as a needy suppliant begins by praising the person from whom he seeks a favour, Vishayā describes in words of praise the rich comparison of the horse. The comparison of the jewel bedecked head stall (મુહોરદો) to the sunrise in the East is as original as it is charming. The poet shows a close acquaintance with human nature in thus prefixing words of praise before coming to the prayer itself. The picture presented in one stroke, ચંચળ નયને જોય, is a clever one and reminds one of the line in Jayadeva's *Gita Govinda* ચકિતવિરોચિતદશદિશયા describing Rādhā's behaviour in a different set of circumstances in either case the feelings of curiosity, secrecy, caution, rush of desire, are condensed in a single touch of word painting.

The tell tale jingle of the maiden's anklets and other ornaments being an item of danger, Vishayā adopts the trick which nature teaches every maiden

નેપુર, ઝાંસર, ધળવટ, વીઠિયા, એ સોનીએ આભરણ ઘટિયા;  
પ્રઘમ બાગતા રૂઢો લગતો, આગ શાડુ ખર્દ નીખદિયા.

A woman's vanity made the wearing of such ornaments a sweet pleasure at one time, these very things were a source of trouble, -here is a slight but an artist's touch in insinuating the traits of woman nature. She had her remedy to hand

હેઠું કહી મન દાદ કરી ચાઢી, ઝાંસર ઊંચા ચડારી,  
મર્મે ભરતી રાગ, જયમ જલમા રાગ, એમ રયામા સમીપ આવી.

This is a picture possessing the charm of truth to nature. If she lost self-control through the impatience of a maiden's curiosity, a slight mistake made would betray her, hence મન દાદ કરી ચાઢી she moved with a firm hold on her mind, at first moving the anklets higher up on the feet to keep them fixed. And yet any hasty movement would slip them down, hence મર્મે ભરતી રાગ, she took cautious and slow steps, this pose and motion are portrayed in a very apt simile, they are likened to the cautious strutting of the stork in shallow waters, taking slow steps that would not frighten away the small fish which the bird wishes to catch as its prey.

She comes near Chandrakâsa and takes her seat. But she is afraid to be too near, because

मारो आस लागे साधु जागे ते चित्ता चित्तमां पेढी.

She was afraid lest, if she bent her face too close, her very breath should wake him up. After this quiet and secret movement and postures, duly painted by the poet in firm colours, we are presented with a gentle turn in the maid's feelings—the mastery of curiosity over caution. And yet before she takes a rash step she betrays her fear of her surroundings

रखे को देसे सहिपर सुन पेरो,—एम एट रायी आढी,  
एली पिण्ठोडी परी करीने जोँयु वहन ऊधाढी.

She looks askance, lest some one should be looking, lest her female friends should be peeping, and then, assured of her solitude, she lifts the scarf from the hero's face. The interval between the maid's turning her face from the hero lest some one should be watching her and her uncovering his face must have been short, very short. And the poet's pen has done here, what the painter's brush could not possibly have done, the depicting of the two actions in quick succession

The scarf lifted, the face of the hero visible now, the maiden's venture is rewarded with a sight of beauty and joy which the poet describes in a familiar simile, familiar yet possessing peculiar freshness here

आकाशे अच अच्युं पाए, चन्द्रविन्द दीसे जेंयुं,  
त्यम पिण्ठोडी परी कीपे सुन्न कुलिन्दिंवरतं तेयुं.

When the scarf was removed, the face of the prince of Kulinda shone as the moon shines in the sky when the cloud that hid it moves away—this sight is likened to the moon that with delight looks round when the heavens are bare—a simple but a charming touch of the poet's pen.

I shall feel amply rewarded if this little criticism of mine removes the bank of clouds spread by averse critics over the face of this moon of Gujarati poetry, Premânanda.

You will have seen that Premānanda has a command over graceful and classical diction and originality, vivacity and power of style. This will be borne out, not by this single specimen, but by a study of his other works which are voluminous and cover a fairly large field of subjects and treatment.

If, after this appreciation by me of Premānand, I refrain from accepting as genuine several works attributed to him by a coterie of blind admirers, I hope I shall not be misunderstood. I have in view the three plays published as Premānanda's handiwork, as also some long poems like *Draupadiharana*. I shall not trouble you with a detailed statement of the grounds on which I base my conclusions in this matter, for I have already published, in Gujarati, a lengthy essay examining the question of the genuineness of these works. However, I may indicate a few points for consideration.

(a) Dramatic works were unknown in Gujarati literature before Premānanda's time and long after him, dramatic literature arose only during the latter half of the nineteenth century, i.e. over a century after Premānanda's death. It is incredible that such literature should arise out of darkness and disappear in darkness thereafter, leaving no other trace of such works in subsequent literature.

(b) Similarly dramatic literature presupposes the existence of the stage. This institution, the stage, did not exist in Gujarat before or long after Premānanda, nor during Premānanda's time. It is incredible then that a set of plays should have been composed under such conditions.

(c) Premānanda's son, Vallabha, in his *Kunti prasannākhyāna* (a poem) tries to prove Premānanda's supremacy over the Hindi poet, Chanda, and mentions the works composed by each. Yet nowhere does he refer to his father's dramatic compositions as marking him out as superior to Chanda. If the father had written them, the bragging son would have boasted of them and cried from the house tops in praise of them.

(d) The original MSS. of these plays have never been shown to any one, or traced anywhere.

Besides these there is a vast volume of internal evidence which goes against the genuineness of these plays. I shall mention only three glaring instances—

(I) गुजराणा कुटि घटम्—this phrase is introduced at p. 5 of *Pinchali-prasannālīkhyāna* (one of the plays in question). Now this phrase has a history which traces it to the spirit of rivalry and jealousy between Gujaratis and Deccans, which came into being during the sway of the Gaekwāds in Baroda several years after Premā nanda. If, then, it appears in a play attributed to Premā nanda, one would naturally suspect that the work is not genuine.

(II) (1) द्रापतो द्रापो वालो दधि उनः घटत्य पिवति ।

(*Roshadarśīlā Satyabhāmālīkhyāna*, page 258)

(2) यस्य अनं तस्य तुष्यं रूपकारस्य घृषकः ।

(*Roshadarśīlā Satyabhāmālīkhyāna*, page 259)

These two Sanskrit sayings are really the concoctions of Vrjalal Kalidas Sāstri who gives them in his work, *Utsarga mālā*, first published in 1870 A. D., with the *special object* of proving (what is absurd) that all Gujarati sentences are the mis-shapen changes out of original Sanskrit sentences. In order to help this theory of his, he resorts to bad Sanskrit, e.g. तः (in द्रापत) - which should really be replaced by the instrumental termination, ते being concocted in order to present an original of Guj द्वापत् but अस्ति in order to give the origins of पाण (Guj.), तुष्य. does not bear the sense of अपि दधि is brought in to represent Guj दृष्टि, but in doing so, the Sāstri runs into the absurdity of making it an object of drinking (पिवति), the real source of the error being that the Gujarati proverb has दाय which, being liquid, can be drunk. He could

have said ભર્યાપતિ, but his theory required the formation પિચતિ to correspond to પીએછે (Guj.), and he again forgets the absurdity seen in the fact that milk being liquid and દાખિ being not such, there would be no cause for misapprehension which would really occur if દાખિ were the article.

The whole argument will be clear when I say that the Gujarāti saying is દૂધનો દાખયો છાય ફૂકને પીએ (A man scorched by hot milk will drink whey after blowing on it to cool it) This saying is turned by the Sāstrī into દૂધપી દાખયો ચાલ દર્દી એણ ફૂકને પીએ છે, the changes, પી and એણ being intentionally introduced to prove his theory.

In (2) which is given as the original of અનુદેંદુ પુણ્ય, રાપનારાને પ્રમાણો, the Sāstrī gives રંધનાર to correspond to Guj. રંધનારો and in doing so forgets that the correct Skr. would be રંધનકાર.

The conclusion is irresistible that the author of this play must have taken these sayings from *Utsarga-mālā*, and must therefore be one who lived after 1870 A D (the year of the publication of *Utsargamālā*)

III એક કારણે અનેક પદી પડે is a proverb used in *Roshadarsak* p. 161. This is almost an exact reflection of the English saying "To kill two birds with one stone" As a matter of fact the proverb given in the play is never known to Gujarāti life and literature. Proverbs are generally a sort of crystallized image of the life, social institutions, habits etc. of a people. The proverb in question is certainly against the life and atmosphere of Gujarāti people, with whom the practice of *shulār* and *shikār* life are a matter of ancient history. As I have said elsewhere<sup>54</sup>, when we shall find English proverbs corresponding to the Gujarāti ones—સો દાઢા સાસુના તો એક દદાડો વહુનો or સાસુનાનો સાબેણા તો વહુનો શકે કાબેણા I shall be prepared to admit the genuineness of the proverb એક કારણે અનેક પદી પડે.

54 A lecture delivered before the *Broach Sāhitya Sabhā*, on 24th September 1911, and published in *Varant* of Kartika V S 1968, see p. 445 thereof.

I have given only these three items. There are numerous others, forming internal and external evidence, which must be left alone.

In fairness to the advocates of the genuineness of these plays, I must not omit the fact that they have tried their level best to refute the arguments advanced against the plays, but I can prove at any time that they are all irrelevant, hollow, and unsound. And, in case where they are driven into a corner, as in the case of item No. II above (the Sanskrit proverbs of Vrajalal Sastr), they resort as a last and forlorn hope to the plea that they may have been interpolations, who interpolated them and how, in the face of the fact that there were only single lines (not shown to the public), they care not to consider.

### Vallabha

(V. S. 1750 or thereabouts)

Premnanda left to his son, Vallabha, the task of eulogizing him and himself. We are not concerned with the wild boastings of the son especially about himself. I shall only consider his style and give one or two specimens and then pass on to other poets. Vallabha's style is vigorous, and trenchant, often rugged and coarse to a degree. I shall pick out only two instances.

(1)

शर धीर साचा मान्या पंचुत्र मादरा में,  
मन विद्वित अपंतं तो कोइ ना पाए पड़े,  
धारणा ने ध्यान ए सौ दृप्ते अर्पयती गति,  
हा ! हुं कहुं आज हवे ? अंगो अंग जल्दे !  
महा महा कष केती पुर पालन मे कथुं  
ते द्वर्पं हा ! निथे धर्ष, हुं जहवातुं जडे ?  
कामना पूराय ना जो नग युगा दुरपी तो,  
पिंड प्रभा ! पिंड समा ! कीर्ति दृढ़ी ए वदे.

X                    X                    X                    X

X                    X                    X                    X

श्री गांपारी अणधारी पारीने दात वदेने,  
दुर्योगन दूसरन हु गदेने देने भारदे ?

कोइ बात दागे नहि अद्वैतव अंग ध्याप्ये,  
 ऐरावत देये नहि कुंती प्राण धारणे ?  
 प्रभाकर उगे अने शाकलडं जल रहे,  
 मृगजल सत्य ठरे, शश तिंद दारणे !  
 पदापि ए बने जाणो, तथापि न जीर्णे कुंती,  
 शक्वनाग जुरे नहि, अग्नि देह भारणे.

(*Kunti prasannālīhyāna*, stanzas 66 and 68)

These are a few of the stanzas describing the anger of Kunti when her sons declare the impossibility of bringing Indra's elephant, Airāvata, down on to the earth, as was her keen desire. The words put into the mouth of Kunti mark Vallabha's vigorous style.

His style is often, however, marred by the juxtaposition of fairly graceful words and rough, uncouth, and often senseless word sounds, e. g. here is a stanza from his description of the grand *Sabha* (palace) created by Maya

(2)

शीतळ ने पंर वाप उंभी सोहे सदाप,  
 दुःप्र दिठ केरी जाय, सभा द्वाभा शोभेहे;  
 एदना तदण थाप, कायाप्यी कट जाय,  
 मनमान्धु ऐर्ण थाप, अभा द्वाभा ओभेहे;  
 बनेहे अभामी पामी प्रदधारी महानामी,  
 तपरीड नारी थामी, लभा नामा लोभेहे;  
 जोग जेरी जेह वस्त तेह स्वां दीसे उमस्त,  
 चंद मर्ह केरो अस्त द्वाभा द्वोभेहे.

(*Kunti prasannālīhyāna*, st. 16)

The words put in Maya's type illustrate my point. The commenting editor interprets these in such an artificial manner that one wonders how he got into the secret mind of the poet and fished out these interpretations. One is really tempted to doubt the genuineness of the work in such circumstances. However, that would lead us into another controversy.

I am tempted to give an instance of Vallabha's power and peculiarity of description. Bhima and Arjuna are coming down from *Scarga*, Airavata with them, by the miraculous<sup>55</sup> bridge of arrows built by Arjuna by letting off thousands of arrows from his bow. The people below on the earth are watching this wonderful sight and the poet thus describes the situation —

(3)

तिल जेट्टा जणाता पध जेट्टा ते द्या,  
पाठेकेसरी समान दरशया पे धीर ऐ,  
स्योरे जोनारा करेहे कल्पनाओ कल्प जेझी,  
स्वरप वडी दासे कवि, उतरे वा धीर ऐ !

55. I must note here a strange coincidence. Vallabha in this poem of his, *Kunti prasannakhydna*, introduces the miracle of Arjuna's sending a letter to Indra on the head of an arrow, discharged by him from his bow, and subsequently the building of a bridge of arrows set up from his bow which furnished Bhima and Arjuna with a passage from the Earth to *Scarga*. Now, a Marathi poet, by name Ananta Kavi, has almost the same ideas developed in his poem, entitled *Gaya gauri vrata*. Thus —

- (a) *Gaya Gauri-vrata*, stanzas 17 to 20, describes Arjuna as fixing to the head of an arrow a letter addressed to Indra (asking him to give his elephant, Airavata) and sends it off from his bow to *Scarga*, Brihaspati reads it, and so forth
- (b) In stanzas 25 to 78, Arjuna is described as having discharged a number of arrows between the Earth and *Scarga* by which Bhima went up to Indra's abode

(Vallabha has a bridge of arrows instead of a roadway)

In (a) Vallabha has varied the incident by saying that Indra sent his reply back on the same arrow head, while Ananta Kavi has a messenger sent by Indra.

Ananta Kavi flourished in Saka year 1645 (= V. S. 1779-80). Now, the question is, how did these striking coincidences happen? The *Mahabharata* does not contain these incidents of a message on the arrow head, a bridge of arrows, etc. *Pratardya* contains *Hari Gauri-vrata*, but the account is materially different. Vallabha and Ananta Kavi were more or less contemporaries. However, there is not much likelihood of the Marathi poet having borrowed from Vallabha. It is possible that both had some basis in oral traditions which they worked upon in their own way.

કોઈ કહે શુક શાનિ, કોઈ કહે સોમસૂર્ય !  
 કોઈ કહે ભોમબ્યોમ ! કોઈ કહે હંત કીર છે !  
 આદા ઉત્તરી શા આરે આકાશમાં વસનારા !  
 કેરે પેરે ગરું ઘરા ધારતી બે શિર છે !

(*Kunti prasannâkhyañna*, st. 190)

Of course, the fanciful comparisons given here disclose an absurdity which the poet seems to ignore

### Ratnesvara

Ratnesvara was a contemporary and a pupil of Premânanda. He was particularly learned in Sanskrit lore, which is evident in the classical style and language of his works. A few examples will suffice

(1)

દુ તો જ્ઞાં દોરી દીરની દીંદોલ રે માંજ,  
 ફરતાં પરકે રે દ્વામતાં; જ્ઞાંતાં ન સોદાપ,  
 સદ્ગી આપણ માસ દીદામણો.

(માટિનીટસ)

દુષ્પ યત ! દુન વાણી, વર્ષાં રાહ્ય પાણી,  
 દુણ દુર પિર રહે ને, દુણની વાત ફેરે ને;  
 મધુપુર પર્ણી આણ્યો, શા સમાચાર આણ્યો ?  
 મધુરી સરદી-સીઠે દુણની વયાં ય દીયો ?

Here is Ridhî trying in vain to seek comfort in the movement of her luxurious swing, which, however, gives no comfort (જ્ઞાંતાં ન સોદાપ), and addressing the rain-cloud of the month of Srâvan, appealingly asking the cloud to stop raining a while so that he may give her the news of the sweet-flute-playing Krishna, who is away in Madhupura (Mathurâ). The original would suffer by an attempt at translation. We may only remark here that this stanza may well stand comparison with Kâlîlî's poetic creations in elegance of style and grace of composition. One is reminded of Kâlîlî's Purûravas, addressing the animals etc., asking for news about "Uttasî," especially the line

"મધુપર મદ્રિદશયા, દંસ તન્યાઃ પ્રટિષ્ઠિમ् ।

comes uppermost in one's mind. The lines also remind us of the picture presented in Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta* where the heroine is depicted as looking up at the Cloud-Messenger before he delivers the message from her husband.

(2)

विद्विक्षु रोती, चीरणं नीर छोती;  
अण नयन दीसे, आस्य जोती अरीसे.

In these lines Rādhā is pictured looking into the glass at her own face and finding her eyes red with weeping, and wiping her tears with the end of her garment, a simple but charming picture drawn by a poet's master-hand. The above extracts are taken from "Krishna-Virakarṇa Diddha Malunkā" (*Prakrūpa Kāvya Sudhā*, Part I, p. 116 and p. 110 edited by Chhaganlāl Vidyārām Rāvala).

[Note In extract (2) Mr. Chhaganlāl has a wrong reading अरी. *Brihat Kāvya Dohana*, Vol. VI, p. 803 has आरा, which really stands for आस्य.]

(3)

ए समे सउ शृङ्खली दासी कारन चीजां होते जी ।  
नंदतणी शृङ्खली यशोरा दधिमंथन करती पोते जी ॥ २ ॥  
परपटूळ अमूलक शृङ्खली कटिटट ताणी बांधुं जी ।  
कटिटटहुं अटवी रेवा कटिमेसला सारे सांधुं जी ॥ ३ ॥  
हतने लेहे पय उभरातां सरता शुचयुग जाय जी ।  
एंद्री केरी शोभे भगुटी शुचतटी पंचन (?रंपन) धाय जी ॥ ४ ॥  
नेतर ताप्ये श्रम पास्या कर, कंचण चंचड होए जी ।  
शशिमंडल सरया मुख शृङ्खले शृङ्खलके होय जी ॥ ५ ॥  
सैद्धतणा कण मुख पश्च शुगता शुगता सम मन हरते जी ।  
दृष्टा केवा परे वही चालती मालति मंपन करते जी ॥ ६ ॥  
तेवामां स्तनपान करेवा जननीने भागान जी ।  
साही रक्षा दधिमंथन करतां मंधनरं निधान जी ॥ ७ ॥  
ना माता मुग्ने उभरावी शूरी दधिमंथान जी ।  
वारंता विनता आरंदे करासती स्तनपान जी ॥ ८ ॥

ઉશંગે લેર્દ ઘરાવે લેહે સ્તન પય વરપે જી ।  
ઇયામ તણું સ્તનપાન કરંતાં દ્વાસ્યસહિત બુલ નિરલે જી ॥૧૦॥

(*Dashama Shandha, Adhyaya IX*)

This extract from Ratnesvara's 'Dashama Shandha' gives a charming picture of Yaśodā busy at the process of churning curds, a picture so true to life and drawn in simple but elegant words. This picture receives a fresh charm when the child Krishna is introduced as interrupting the churning process, asking to be nursed at Yaśodā's bosom, and Yaśodā taking him in her lap suckling the child lovingly and gazing on his sweet face with a tender smile on her lips.

( 4 )

દાન

ઉણ્ય દુન્દાવન માધવ વજાંતા બંશ ।  
ગોપ નિજ ગુણગાન કરતા સહિત બલભદ બંશ ॥ ૪ ॥  
પણ સદ આગઢ કરી વનમાં પ્રાણેદ્યા દ્યામ ।  
કુદમ આકર વિધિન સર વિદાર કરવા કામ ॥ ૫ ॥  
જે વન વિદે મદિમાય કલ સ્વર ચમર ગુંજન ધાય ।  
મૃગ મનોહર પશ્ચી બોલે સવન શીતલ વાય ॥ ૬ ॥  
મહત મનણું અમદજલણું સરોવર દુસ્પર્શ ।  
કમલકાલિકા ગંધ છેતો સમીરણ વહે દ્વર્પ ॥ ૭ ॥  
એદું યન દેખી કરી ભગવાનની નિરઘાર ।  
ગોપણું રમણ તે પિસે મન ધરે જગદાધાર ॥ ૮ ॥  
અણ પહું તણી શોમા ફણ કુદુમનો ભાર ।  
તે ભારથી નમતી શીદા ( શાદા ) ધરવિષે ભડકી સાર ॥ ૯ ॥

(*Dashama Shandha, Adhyaya XV*)

This piece presents a vivid and powerful description of the forest in its details and young Krishna playing there with his shepherd comrades.

## Pritama

(A. D. 1730 = V. S. 1786)

I shall give only one illustration from this poet's work.

हस्तिनो मारण ऐ शरानो, नहि कायरतं वाम जो ने,  
 परप्पम पहेलु मस्तक मूँही बढती ऐबुं नाम जो ने.  
 उत पित द्वारा शीष प्रभाप्पे ते पामे रस पीवा जो ने,  
 नियु मध्ये मोती ऐवा मांहि पदवा मरजीवा जो ने.  
 मरण आयके ते भेर मूँही, दिलनी दुर्या वामे जो ने;  
 तीरे ऊमो जुरे तमाशो ते कोही नव पामे जो ने.  
 प्रेमपंप पावकनी उगाला, भालो पाला भागे जो ने,  
 मांहि पदवा ते महा एव माने, देवणदारा दाहे जो ने.  
 मापा साडे मांयी वस्तु सांपदी नहि स्वेद जो ने;  
 महापर पान्या ते मरजीवा मूँही मननी मेट जो ने.  
 राम अमलमां राता माता पूरा प्रेमी परदे जी ने;  
 प्रीतमना स्वामीनी लीजा ते रजनी इन नरदे जो ने.

This religious poem is marked by an originality of colour, directness of expression and vigour of style. The word मरजीवा which has baffled several scholars in determining its exact sense is explained here clearly, but unconsciously. The line तीरे ऊमो जुरे तमाशो ते कोही नव पामे जो ने reminds one of Hafiz's celebrated line *Kuja ddnand h il ; m d subuk-bdnin ; sdhulki*.

## Revâsankara (of unknown date)

This poet was a Nâgari of Junagadh. The Nâgari community is known for its culture and refinement. These traits are visible in Revâsankara's works, especially in his series of *Chandînâlî chhînî*. I give here a few specimens —

(1)

ए अवरत पिभुत तान पारो अमुत रज्जुल भंग,  
 अकल, भस्य, सरउ एर सोरे, अदिउता अपंग,

अद्रिष्टता अर्धंगने आणी, दमरू, दाक, पिनाक छे पाणि,  
रेवा-शिव-रंकर शुभकारी, एक अवधूत विभूत तन धारी;  
आंगणे आवी अलय जगावी, कीधो गिंगी शोर;  
नंदराणी गभराणी धरमां, धोपमां वायो होर;  
धोपमां वायो होर ते जइने, माता मनमां विस्मय धइने,  
उतने लीयो दृश्य दगावी, आंगणे आवी अलय जगावी.

जशोदा:-

जशोदा जोगीराजने नरती भावभरी भरपूर;  
ल्यो भिधा, रथा करो उतने, दृष्टि लागे, रहो दूर;  
दृष्टि लागे, रहो दूर दिग्म्बर, प्वेरो तो आँुं पट अंवर;  
दूर उत्तर हने देले हरखी, जशोदा जोगीराजने नरती.

शिवजी:-

आय युहू ने अलय निरंजन, जे अनंत अविनाश,  
रोम रोम गद्याण्ड भमे ते पदलामां लेइ पास,  
पहरामां लेइ पास पलंगे अभंक जाणीने डळरंगे,  
अंदुज आंते आंगती अंजन, आय युहू ने अलय निरंजन.

×                    ×                    ×                    ×  
×                    ×                    ×                    ×

जशोमती बीँडुं काँदुं न जाँचुं, साँचुं कटुं शुभ वेण,  
अंतरमां अगिलापा हेयी नंदुंगरने नेण,  
नंदुंगरने नेण निहाळी, पुत्र पथराय वचन प्रतिपाळी;  
रूप जोइ रुद्यामां राँचुं, जशोमती बीँडुं काँदुं न जाँचुं.

( २ )

राधा:-

कितन कहाननी कीरति वरती लाजती नर्धी एगार,  
घमर पेरे परथरनो भोयो, वनिता कां नव वार ?  
वनिता कां नव वार विचारी ? आँदि यदे तुं वषु वधारी;  
वचली वात म्हें वेणमां वरती, कितन कहाननी कीरति करती.

×                    ×                    ×                    ×  
×                    ×                    ×                    ×

चाली चतुर चपल चालेपी यांते करवा देल,  
 कर चामीकरनी पिचवारी, शिर केशरनी हेल,  
 शिर केशरनी हेल भरीने निववा जाती ईश-अरिने,  
 अमजल सबल वहे धालेपी, चाली चतुर चपल चालेपी.

×                    ×                    ×                    ×  
 ×                    ×                    ×                    ×

छंरी कोमळ, कमळ, ने करणी, केतकी, ने कणवीर,  
 उमनदुगंधित सहज सुधीतल छंदर वाय समीर,  
 ऊंर वाय समीर सुखकारी, वय (?) प्रज) वनितानो विरह विचारी;  
 चांपे चालती चंपकरणी, इंरी कोमळ, कमळ, ने करणी.

The sweetness of diction, its mellifluous flow, rich and yet natural alliterations springing out spontaneously mark out this poet as a poet of unpremeditated melody. The ideas, although taken from the traditional story of Krishna during his childhood and adolescence,\* are conveyed with a freshness and simplicity of charm. There is one conception which arrests our attention. रोम रोम प्रद्याण्ड पर्मे reminds one of a similar idea in Narasinha Mehta's line ओटि प्रद्याण्ड एळ रोम जेतै (pada, 49, at p. 489 of Narasinha Mehta's poems, edited by the Gujarati Press). Perhaps the conception was a traditional heritage of poets and philosophers. None the less its sublimity does not suffer thereby.

### SĀMALA (V. S. 1778 to 1821)

This poet has secured immortal fame more by the popularity of his style and its cryptic qualities, as also by the choice of subjects than by any high poetic merit. His *chhappas* are in the mouth of every one acquainted with the literature of the times. His stories are noted for the bold rebellion against social conventions. They possess a certain amount of vigour but they lack in poetic merit and artistic skill. His *ingāla Vichti* presents peculiar poetic fervor, and exceptional vigour and vivacity. Out of his copious works, I shall extract only a few passages—

## (1)

When Rîma asks Angada to go to Râvana to negotiate peaceful elations, the latter feels he is entrusted with a duty unworthy of a brave warrior and says:

दुकम होय दृजूरी केरो, सोपी नांसुं बाधो सायर,  
 दुकम होय दृजूरी केरो, महा काम करवा हुं मायर;  
 दुकम होय दृजूरी केरो, जुदे जोर घर्तुं त्यां जाहर;  
 फासद काम साँसुं क्यम मुजने? छेक मुने क्यम कीपो कायर?

St. 43

However, he obeys and undertakes the mission. He reaches Lankâ, Râvana's island and capital, and this is the poet's description of the sight that meets Angada's eyes.

नधत्र सरखी नार, झरेनी उयोतो सरखी !  
 धंपकवरणां चीर, पश्चती पूरण पश्चली;  
 कनकमणिमय झुंभ, प्रेमदा परवरी पाणी;  
 आभूपण उपमा य इन्द्रकेरी इन्द्राणी;  
 ए लख जिव्हाए कवि कहे, भाट भात न शके भणी;  
 सामळ कहे हुं क्यम कही शङ्कु लीला उद्धर उंकातणी.

St. 58.

X	X	X	X
X	X	X	X

जळहळ उद्योत उयोत मणि जळहळता जदिया;  
 चिन्तामणि भर भीत, नवे ग्रह आपी अटिया;  
 परवाढां पर पोळ, स्काटिक्स स्तंम ठर्याहे;  
 चूडामणि चोपास, कनक कोडार कर्याहे;  
 अटमासिद्धि नव निधि रिधि, महाउद्धमी वासे वशी;  
 शिवनी आपी सपुद्दि उयां, त्यां उपमा करवी कशी ?

St. 62.

Angada proceeds into the city and reaching Râvana's palace, encounters the officer guarding the first gate; he has a spirited talk with him, in the course of which he says to the officer wrathfully:

कपिवर कोपियो, लाज दप टोपियो, ओपियो आपधी क्रोपदूर्दी;  
 रण जंग रोपियो, चाँदिंग चाँपियो, भद्र घडाविर्या, हठि भूदी,  
 सेलशु, सेलशु, रेलशु नगरमां, देश शाधामां ते दाहु दूंबो;  
 तादे मन अल्या एकत्रिति उशपति, मारे मन उंकपति एक खूंदी !

St. 79

Angida fights and decapitates the officer, and proceeds, after thus severing the heads of several officers holding the various gates, he reaches Râvana's durbar place. The consternation caused by this monkey-chief's prowess in the city is thus described by the poet

पायो धंगद धीर, नीर उतार्या नरनां,  
 देवट कीधो दरवार, वद्याण शां काहुं दानरनां ?  
 उरमां पध्ये उक्कार, ऐके हिम्बत छूटाणी,  
 वाये चार्दी वात, एक याधी छूटाणी,  
 स्यां दद्दर शापी शब्दभद्दी, नासदा लागी नारियो;  
 कोइ कंची घडे अदारिये, बंप करे कोइ बारियो !

St. 93

×                    ×                    ×                    ×

गह लंगा धेर धेर वात वाणवत वार्धी;  
 चहुं रामठ सेन, लंक दूंटाणी वार्धी,  
 वहे मार्यो इंभर्ग, कहे रामण रण रोक्यो;  
 कहे इन्द्रजित भगित ते धांचडवत चोक्यो,  
 गुलबान पर्यं गलीदूधिये, लघु फरोट एके लम्हो,  
 वहे स्व्यो राम रामण परे, बलवापात एवो पयो.

St. 95

This will suffice. Further on the poem suffers in merit by its prolixity, irrelevancy, and other artistic defects. But the above extracts mark the characteristics of Sâmalâ's poetic style free and natural flow of language, a comparatively cultured language disclosing familiarity with Sanskrit literature and yet a restraint which keeps the poet off from pedantic show. I am tempted to point out a small phrase which takes us back to Narasinha Mehta. I refer to the expression जव्वद्व उयोत दयोत in st. 62 above, which, applied here to a mere

earthly feature in Lankā, pales before Narasinha Mehtā's sublime presentation of the characteristic of Brahma. જગ્દુદ્ધ જ્યોત ઉદ્યોત રવિ કોટમાં. And yet at the same time this unconscious borrowing pays an honest tribute to the genius of the *bhakti*-poet who sang several centuries before Sāmala.

## (2)

I cannot refrain from citing one stanza from *Angada-viśhtī* which runs in the vigorous and lilting vein of Vallabha who was a contemporary and a bitter rival of Sāmala.

પ્રતિદારે દીપી ગાઢ, અંગદને જઠી શાઢ,  
અઠ્યો ર્યાંપી તતકાઢ, દારે દંત કર્દીને;  
દેચારેક ભરી ફાઢ, કાતાન્ત સરીદ્ધો કાઢ,  
અધિક કરંતો આઢ, ઘણી રીસ ઘર્દીને;  
સવાપો ગવાયો વાઢ, ભલેણ તિટક ભાઢ;  
દુદિનિધિતળો બાઢ વાશ્યો વડુ વર્દીને;  
પકર્પો ર્યાં પ્રતિદાર મહોકમ દીપો માર  
કહ્યું કે શી વાર? ડીપાં પાંચ શિર મર્દીને.

St. 88.

Surely this is Vallabha all over, which shows that Vallabha had not the sole monopoly of this style of composition. Probably in those days such compositions were well known and open to many writers of verse.

I should like to present Sāmala in another aspect, as a reviler of the fair sex and again the praiser, a paradox which is explained by his objective outlook on human nature, presenting the sides of the same problem, wherein the views are very often put in the mouth of other characters. Here are two passages selected from *Sāmala-ratna-mālā*-(Br. *Kāriya dahanā*, II, 1887 edition).

## (3)

પ્રદિત કેરી નાર સુરખદું મોનો માણે;  
દુલ્વંતાની નાર નીચને દુદ્ધ પ્રમાણે;

मरवंतानी जुवति वाणोत्तर साप बद्धेपे;  
 नरपतिकेरी नार गमार गोटाणु गंधेपे;  
 ग्रह केरी जे धन्दरी कायरने काया दियेपे;  
 शामङ्ग स्वभाव इयामातणो, शुद्धिरीण ते कपम दियेपे ।

( P. 526 )

Now, look at this picture.

( 4 )

रामा हसननी खाण, जाण ए रंभा रुडी;  
 धेरे सोळ शणगार, हार कंडे कर घूरी;  
 शोभे जळदूल गेह, देह कोमळ शुभ साजी;  
 शोभाकेहं सदन, बदन हशी रासे राजी;  
 भद्र मोज करण विक्रम अने हरिश्चन्द्रनी हारना,  
 पंदित चतुर उर पाढ़वी शृपति नेट, पण नारना.  
 जोबनमां दे रंग संगासुख टाढ़क तवनी;  
 याडपणे करी वात मटाहे पीडा मननी;  
 उत्तदुखमां समभाग, रागरुहे शुण गातो;  
 चतुरा चित हसनार, सार उरमां मदमाती;  
 वळी छद्दपणे सेवा करे, देल्यापी रिलदूख टळे;  
 ए अंतकाळ भक्ती नहीं, बहु स्नेह साधे बळे.

( P. 529 )

## DHIRO. (V. S 1809 to 1881)

This poet has bequeathed to Gujarati Literature a large amount of religious, philosophical and didactic poetry which possesses a charm of its own. His learning was limited in the sense of Sanskrit lore. But his acquired knowledge was admirable. The special form of metrical composition favoured by him which went by the name of "Dhirdi-na-pala," and is in recent times known by the more or less incorrect name of "Dhirdi ni Lisi," has sweet music and fluidity which no other form can present. I give two or three extracts from his poetry :—

(1)

કામ કંપાવે રે માનપ પશુ પ્રાણીને,  
તે કામ તો કંપે રે મ્હારા ગુરુનીને જાણીને. (ટેક) ૧.

માંયણ જેણું અંગ લેદે પણ નાસઠો ઈંદી મનોજ;  
એક મંત્ર મ્હારા ગુરુના સુસમાં તેણે કામ કંપતો રોજ,  
ધન્ય ધીર ધારી રે, વલુંઘ્યો હું વાણીને. કામો ૨.

દ્વારદશ ધર્મ રાણો હું નિકટ, ક્રોધ ન ભાલ્યો કાંઈ;  
કેમ કરી કામ ક્રોધ જીલ્યા ગુણ, લોમ મોદાદિક સાંદા;  
નથી ટાણો એવો રે, કહું આત્મ તાણીને. કામો ૩.

મદમત્તસરતું મૂળ નર્હિ જ્યાં, પદ રિષુ તાબેદાર,  
એવા તો એક ગુરુની મ્હારા માન્યા આંદે જોયા નિરધાર,  
ચુણ્યા કીજા કાને રે, આગા વડી આણીને. કામો ૪.

ધીર અમરદર સભરામરમાં ભરિયા જોતાની માંય;  
અગમનિગમની વાતો ચુણાવી, આપજેવો કારવા ફાસું ર્યાય,  
ગ્રારચ્છને યોગે રે ધીરો જુદે જાણીને. કામો ૫.

(Guru Svarupa, XXVIII)

(2)

આનંદ ધાય છદે રે તૃપ્તા તો લુટે ત્યારે,  
ગમે નર્હિ ઘેલીરે; પણ એવું પણું ક્યારે? (ટેક) ૧.

જ્યાં ચદુજીતર મનની અતિ ભારી, તેમાં તૃપ્તાની મલ્લતી તાણ;  
છ જણ સાધ્યકારી વને તેના, ત્યાં આનંદનાં શાં થખાણ? આનંદો ૨.

અલ્ઘારો રહે એ તો રે જુએ સુંદરે જ્યારે,  
એમ છતાં કદી આગઢ પઢીને આનંદ કરતો જોતા,  
ત્યારે તો તુચ્છ દેખાતી તૃપ્તા, તુટી જાતો તર્હિ તોતા,  
પશ્ચાત્તાપ ધાતો રે, વગોદ્યા મુંડી નારે. આનંદો ૩.

વંષ વિનાની પલાજ જેણી છે, નારુ વિનાની નાર,  
ચંદ્ર વિનાની રાત એ નિથે, તુચ્છ તૃપ્તા એવી નિરધાર;  
આનંદ કેવો ઊંડો રે! તાણો તૃપ્તાને પારે. આનંદો ૪.

એવો આનંદ સદ્ગુરૂપી મલ્લતો, જે તૃપ્તાનું દાખે સ્વરૂપ;

तृष्णाकेरी नम भाद्रां नभती आनंदपाज पूरी हे वृप,  
आनंदी धीर एवा रे मके शुद्ध विद्योरे.

आनंद० ५.

(Trishnā Starūpa, XIX)

(3)

कादव मांडि कलियो रे मार्गंग गद्या मरतानो,

(टेक.) १.

पारभी चीतो पाटे रे, पाके ल्यारे रहे छानो.

तेगाने कादगाने ज विचार निर्वेद दस्ती कोए;

तेकाधी तेव द्यं कारज धाए? पायुं तो सर्वे कोर,

ऐ विचारनी धात ज रे, एक मन करी मानो. कादव० २.

तेम काम कोषस्थी पाला कादगर्मा तारो देह इच्छी गयो जाण;

तेने पणा निर्वेद घ्यन वाढे? पको पाई पारी याण,

प्राण धाय पूरा रे, पावै ने न घडे द्यानो. कादव० ३.

साको शरीर कोक होय तो करे कादगानो उपाय;

ते तेना अंतरमा आये तो, निकर कहे गोदा लो याय,

भी पढी तेने रे? मढी आये कोइ दानो. कादव० ४.

म्हारा सद्गुरु जेवा जो देसे तो वीचउयी पाई करे पाम;

देहुं तर्वे देसाई दे ते, कहे ऐ फीमत एक चदाम;

धीर जेवा समसे रे, समझी न रहे छानो. कादव० ५.

(Kāyā Starūpa, XVI)

The above specimens will suffice to indicate Dhuro's method of handling his subject—sometimes plunging into it with a direct jump and yet not losing sight of the train of thought (as in specimens 1 and 2 above), and sometimes starting with an imagery sudden and at first unconnected with the issue before him, and then surprising the listener with the point to be made by the poet (as in specimen 3 above). The poet's *Prasnoham Udu's*<sup>1</sup> is inferior in power and art, spinning out an idea with great prolixity and many truisms.

स्त्रियों विशारदा धनमंगला रे लोळ,	मज़० ताली० ४.
मायदी ने मालती अनुप,	
विविष वाजित्र वाजे छंदमां रे लोळ,	मज़० ताली० ५.
तालस्वरे मली करे गान;	
लोळ कहेतां अपर अदण ओपता रे लोळ,	मज़० ताली० ६.
लटके नमी मेल्ये सहू मान,	
सेठ मच्यो ते इन्दामंदमां रे लोळ,	मज़० ताली० ७.
बंसीरेट घाँक रसरूप;	
गरबे जाँदाने गिरधर आरिया रे लोळ,	मज़० ताली० ८.
मोहें निरखी० इपामोहुं स्वरूप;	मज़० ताली० ९. <sup>56</sup>

In words of unrivalled grace and charm the poet depicts here a unique scene of loveliness and life and love. We see before our very eyes the group of shepherd beauties gracefully bending and beating time, and swinging in their circular dance, nay, we feel that we hear the very tinkling of the girls' anklets, the 'गुद गुद गुद तामि' beats of the *mrdanga*, and only just miss the sweet singing of their song as we wake up from the dream, the vision created by the magic wand of the poet's pen.

If I may, after this drinking in of that vision, be permitted to point out isolated beauty-spots, I would draw your attention to the rhyming of the last words in each pair of stanzas (०स्य-अनुप in st. 1 and 2, गान-मान in st. 3 and 4, and so on), a trick which is not a trick on account of its obvious spontaneity. But, something subtler than this is the charming picture suggested by the line लोळ कहेतां अपर अदण ओपता रे लोळ. The word 'लोळ' (not the one occurring in this *garabī*, but in a song which the *gopīs* of this picture sang, thus frequent tack

56. I have omitted two couplets between st. 4 and 5, as they simply prolong the list of names of the girl friends of Ridbi. I have also stopped short at st. 8, as the subsequent ones mar the compactness of the picture so far, dealing as they do with a consequential picture of Ridbi and Krishna, with the help of Lalita, stepping away from the dance and meeting secretly in a bower, where, according to the poet, they have their amorous union. The poet, in his desire for this extreme, sacrifices artistic unity.

word of grace, लोळ) when uttered naturally opens the lips slightly but gracefully, and then the red lips of the singers present their sheen. The poet catches a glimpse of this item of beauty, and cleverly presents it before our eyes,—merely by an incidental touch of his descriptive pen. Details like this go to build up the beauty of the whole picture.

(2)

चाल घेलो भलबेली प्यारी राखे !

तहने तहोरो कहान बोलावे,

तहने पनश्याम बोलावे,

तहने तहोरो पिषु बोलावे,

सरस समय साखे—साखे; प्यारी राखे ! १.

नपी तुज समा कोई अखिल विश वामा;

शारी सावित्री उमा रमा रामा;

ते पण नहि समोवद, भवर कोण कामा ?

त्वारी तुटना ? त्वारी तुलना ?

ऐंग तु ज, के बजभूप, तु तद्रूप, गुणस्वरूप,

वास्त्रूप, अहंपूप, उक्तरूप, वेहु अन्तप,

गति भागाखे, भगावे, प्यारी राखे !<sup>57</sup> २.

The style and diction here are varied, the apparent repetition in त्वारो कहान बोलावे, पनश्याम बोलावे, त्वारो पिषु बोलावे, far from being a fault, is but a reflection of the intensity and earnestness of the entreaties to Rādhā made by her girl friend. A curious metrical peculiarity attracts notice here and deserves attention. The opening line as also the lines of the *āntānī*, are nothing but the metre known as 'dindi' in their metrical mould,—*dindi*, which is originally and eminently a Marāthi metre. Here is a specimen—

आर्यभूची गोवांण मधुर वाणी,

सुरस वाह्नपिं ज्या मदिणी बुपानी,

त्यांत कविवर जयदेव सम न कोणी

सुरस लितस्वर रचिं मधुर वाणी ॥

57. I have extracted only the first two stanzas, to serve only as a specimen. The whole song is full of corrupted text, requiring correct editing.

If you compare the lines of Dayārāma with these lines, you will at once perceive the identity of the metre. Here arises an interesting question, how and whence did this metre come into Dayārāma's poetical factory? I once thought and still think that *dindi* (as also *abhang*) was first introduced into Gujarāti poetry by Bholānātha Sārābhāi, (who wrote his *dindis*, deliberately on the Marāthi model sometime before A. D. 1880) For, in this *garabī* before us, Dayārāma has the measure but not the name or recognition of *dindi* as such. However, it is not at all unlikely that Dayārāma came across *dindis* in Marāthi either in reading or hearing, and he unconsciously adopted the rhythm, and, what is more artistic, interwove it with another rhythm and brought out a lively and graceful combination.

I give only one specimen from his comparatively serious and philosophical work "*Rasika Vallabha*". The sweetness of the word picture, the classical elegance of style, and the correctness of rhythm, will appear evident at once.

( १ )  
( दाढ़ )

करे गान मधुकर मनोहर, मदमत्तमद मदरन्द,  
त्यां दिविष पदन येद उपद, शीतां, उगनिं, मन्द. ३.  
कांचनटता महिळा माउति वेताशी रही झाली,  
खंपक खुड कलहार प्रकुण्ठिल, कही रही झाली. ४.  
मणिरत्नमय गिरिराज भी, धीनाथ मन टोमाय;  
भग्यक मधुर धधार द्विजगण, ठोमा पही नव जाय. ५.  
शतपदटोयन घन्दरी श्यामातणां बु एन,  
ते मध्य विट्से दाल नटवर रसिन्मणि गोविन्द. ६.  
नित्य भवड रासविटासरघना, कषनमी क्षम आये !  
ऐ नित्य टीटा डे-प्राहृत, भरन्दमय सुति गाये. ७.  
ए उदिष्टि सर्वनी, शी-र्भगपी इतपत्य,  
जीने द्याप्रीतम छाण्णाहप विना ठे नहि मत्य. ८.

(Pada 82).

I must not omit Dayārāma's "Shad Ruta Varnana." Here is a specimen:—

(4)

## શરદ્ કલું

વીતી છપા એપમાતુજા કદે શરદ જો આવી;  
નાપ ઇન્ની ન વલ્યા લદ્દી, પાણિપદીઓ નાવી. ૧  
જલ વાહલ નિર્મલ પદાં, પલ્યા પંધી દુર્દુંધ,  
ચલે ન તહપિ કંસની કિંકરી એકી કંધ. ૨  
ખંજન પ્રકટ પદાં ગાંસ અંજન વહીને,  
રંજન મન ભંજન કર્યા, દુલ શરીરો રદ્દો દહીને. ૩  
આતપ ક્યામ થર્દ ચન્દ્રિકા, આ તે સોમ કે ચર? ૪  
દુલફકર વિપરીત પિષુ વિના, દે દુઃખ પ્રચુર.  
ક્યાં તે શરદ ધપા ચન્દ્રમા! ક્યાં તે ત્રિવિધ સમીર!  
ક્યાં દુલદુંજ નિંદુંજ! ક્યાં તે ભીયદુનાતીર! ૫.  
ક્યાં તે મોહન દર્દી માધુરી! વનરાસવિદાસ!  
ભાગ ચરદ ભવલાં પદાં, પતિ પાખે દે નાસ. ૬.

The lines breathe throughout a strain of tender grief and despair; words simple yet graceful and classical <sup>58</sup>. This is only an extract from the whole poem, taken from an advance sheet print of the *Brihat Akshaya Dohana*, obtained by the friendly courtesy of Mr. Natavaralal I. Desai of the *Gujarati Press*, requires proper re-editing, as it is full of corrupt readings. The poem secures variety by occasional interspersing of classical metres like *Sāndila cīrtīdīta* and *mālīmī*, but they are hopelessly rugged and incorrect. Take only one instance

એન સ્યમ એનદ્યામ યે કરું એક વામ;  
તમ વિરાહ અગાપા, શુષ્પ વરી જગત રાપા,  
નિશદિન કો ન જાણે બમય એક જ પ્રમાણે,  
દદ્દી ઇંં સમસાયે, કોન મયને પતાયે.

(Varahī Rita, st. 16).<sup>59</sup>

58. The ideas, some of them, may sound conventional, yet they possess a freshness of their own. The first line in stanza 4 will remind you of ચાતલંશ્મણ સેન્યતાં તદતલ ચાંદુરાનુમતે from *Prasanna Rdghdra*, VI-1.

59. I am tempted to draw your attention to the following lines in this poem:

It will not detract from the merits of Dayārāma's poetry, if I mention that at least in one case (viz. in the case of the *garabī* सांभळ देतु सजनी म्हारी रजनी क्यां रमी भावी जी) is more or less a whole-

### यसंतं क्रतु

जो वयस्या वदे रापिशा, क्रतु भावी वसंत,  
संजोगी सद्य सागरी, विरही दुघशा अनंत.

१.

कुसुमितवन उपवन धर्या, गुंजे भृंग मद्माता;

X            X            X            १.

किंशुक फूल पीतरक्तता टागे ए ज प्रमाणे,  
वितद व्याघ्र विरहीटदे विदार्थ नव जाणे.

४.

विविष समीर यून्दावी, परभृत वड बोले,  
ललित सुमन मधुकण स्वये, हरिवण वर लोले.

५.

प्रकुलित द्रुम सहकारना, द्विज प्रमुदित द्वामे;

X            X            X            ६.

Some persons have argued from the existence of the words put in black type in the above that Dayārāma must have taken those words from the play, *Pūnchāli, Pratānnakhyāna* (attributed to Premānsa) which contains the following *Karīja*

आ ते ललित सुमन मधुकण स्वये श्वे,  
वा मधुरी गुर्जरीनी भीश्वर मोंबी पणी,

किंशुक कुसुम रक्तपीत वर्ण वास वन्द  
अतुरिन आ गुडार गुर्जरी महामणि !

उपवन कुसुमित जोर मत्त भृंग गुंजे,  
भक्त वरभृत आ धाणी हे प्रेषीतणी !

हरभिषे सहकार प्रकुलित पूर्ण कीपा,  
प्रमुदित द्विज गिरा हरभि उहामणी;

and they show this as evidence of genuineness of Premānsa's authorship of the play ! They forget that it can be argued with equal, if not greater, force that the writer who palmed off the play as Premānsa's must have flourished after Dayārāma and picked up and used the noted expressions from Dayārāma's poem. I have discussed this point at length in a note in "Vasantā" of S'ratvāna V. S. 1968, pp. 397-399.

sale borrowing from Bhālāna and, earlier still, Narasinha Mehta. This is proved to the hilt by Mr. Rāmalāl Chūmlāl Modī<sup>60</sup>

Never the-less there is a rich amount of original work on which Dayārāma's poetic fame will remain broad based. And after the specimens given by me, I trust you will agree with me that Dayārāma excels Premānanda in beauty of composition and refinement of style.

### REVIEW

Let us halt at Dayārāma and cast a retrospective glance at the course of our journey.

Mirābāī and Narasinha Mehtā shine far far back at the opening end of the vista,—luminous and alone. Padmanābha, Bhālāna, and Bhīma, different in type and choice of subjects, other poets Karmāṇantri, Kōsava, Ganapati, Nākara and others, come in a serial phalanx of inferior but still considerable merit, then we look back on the blank in the second half of the seventeenth century of the Vikrama Era. Then dawns the eighteenth century with Viśvanītha Jāñi, Viśnudūṣa, and Śivadūṣa, more or less minor lights. Then the towering poets Akho, Premānanda and Sāmala, Vallabha, the vigorous and brilliant son of Premānanda again a drop in merit for a century, with occasional brilliancy from luminaries like Revāsankara, Pritam dāsā and others and finally we see the graceful and charming singer, Dayārāma.

Glancing through the subjects we find (1) *bhakti*, *śringāra*, *gnāna-vairāgya*, (2) epic-like *prabandhas*, (3) stories of length like the *Vimala prabandha*, *Mādhaiśālā* etc., (4) *Alhyāna* of Premānanda's type, (5) Sāmala's stories, again (6) *gnāna*, *bhakti*, *vairāgya* etc., between Vallabha and Dayārāma,—a really variegated range, no doubt, but after all, not disclosing any giant palm trees or grand Banyan trees, only a mango grove with occasional notes of the cuckoo, but mostly a grave where the Bhakta sings his *bhajanas* or the lovers will and too. We must skip over Jain literature which is now being diligently explored, it must wait before it can be estimated at its true worth.

<sup>60</sup> See his epigraph on *Bhālāna*, pp. 119-122

This review will suggest to us the historical back-ground in which the pictures are placed. First, the quiet times of the saintly characters, Narasinha Mehtā and Mirābāi, then the desire to look back to the times of clashing sword and armour, again, inspite of the disturbed times between Narasinha Mehtā and Akho, an unknown influence of literary activity; then the *bhakti* movement of the 15th and 16th centuries casting its glowing wings over all, and informing the literature, rather enveloping it.

By the side of these forces, forces affecting the social side of the people appear only in peeping poems like "गोरमा, दिद आन्यो भवतार के नागरी यातमां रे लोल."

We also see in this picture-gallery a row of home-sticking poets, generally playing their own notes on instruments of their own choice, caring little for the outside world, less for other lore beyond their homes, and least for this side of life and its complex problems,—problems some of which had not arisen and some of which did not catch the eyes of men of those times. And yet, pilgrimage took some of the people on compulsory journeys and forced on them the knowledge of other parts of India, but only to a limited extent. Poets like Promānatula occasionally sojourned in Nandurhār, a distant place in those days. Some even wrote works while living in the Deccan; and Dīyārāma's extensive travels are well known.

No wonder then that 2 or 3 *Rangālī* songs are found in two manuscript copies of miscellaneous poems which I have been able to see owing to the friendly courtesy of Mr. Natavarlal Ichhutramā Devai who owns these manuscripts. The manuscripts are dated Vikram Samvat 1730 and 1735. Here are the pieces:—

(1) श्रीगणेशयनम्:

। राग गीत बंगदु छे ।

आम बंगुलोरी देभालो देवा न हो केने आम बंगु छो ॥ १ ॥

तमारी कपट मभा (माणा) बुस्तीते न पारी

देपा श्रीभा राते पांण (प्राण) घरंग पां पारी आम बंगु छो ॥ २ ॥

मरीवो मरीवो आम अदत मरीवो

हामा हुरे पाण पंड वाते पहीवो ॥ ३ ॥ आम बंगु छो ॥ ३ ॥

## (2) गीत बंगळु लखुछे

नव गोरा नव गोरा

बंधु दशीभा काढीभा पाण लीला रे

नव गोरा ॥ १ ॥

बंधु बडो हीस शुद वाणी आर माइभा रे

नव गोरा ॥ २ ॥

आगे लवे गोरा (से ?) मरसे भारो

इशीभा काढीभा पाण लोला रे

नव गोरा ॥ ३ ॥

पेरीए चीवनसाठी चलीए मापव बोरी

दाकीए दाकी ननदे हइभा नव गोरा

कोओ कथा अके ठार ॥ केवा श्वलोए पारे ॥

ही शीभा काढीभा पाण लीला रे

नव गोरा ॥

## Remarks.

Is this Bangālī of that period? Beames says (Vol. II, page 228) Bangālī began in the beginning of the 16th century A. D. Till then Bhojapuri and Bihārī were the languages of early Bengali poets. With this query I leave the question as one requiring closer investigation before a final decision can be arrived at.

## Modern Literature.

This is a subject which I must treat in the most cursory manner. The outstanding feature of modern literature is its prose which was started by Ilanchhodidās whom Navalarāma calls the father of Gujarāti prose. Nevertheless in modern times poetry claims a predominant share in Gujarāti literature. In prose fiction strikes a dominant note.

If history, biography and philosophy are making very slow progress and disclose very little original work Science can claim but a very poor corner in the edifice of Gujarāti literature.

Modern Gujarāti poetry began some time about A. D. 1880. Some of its most gifted poets stand out prominently but it is sad to note that a host of imitators of their style are a blemish in the glory of that literature. Govardhanarāma, Manilal, Kalāp, Nānālal and some others are the pillars supporting the fame of modern Gujarāti poetry, but the real intrinsic poetic inspiration which propelled their work could not be translated by mere imitation which ushered in a want of sincerity and of the ring of truth, as also absence of culture.

and learning and an ignorance of one's own limitations. The result is that the poetic style which is the subject of imitation comes into undeserved disgrace. :

I do not wish to deprecate the literary ideals which inspire modern poetry. In fact I am a worshipper of these ideals. All I wish is that these ideals should not be dethroned from their proper pedestal, and hence I want to point out the danger which lies in the direction of false imitation. On the other hand, there is a class of critics which casts undeserved accusations on modern poetry. This is due to the critics not being able to appreciate correctly the merits of that poetry. When scholars like Sir George Emerson fail to appreciate the true worth of this new poetry, one cannot help breathing a sigh of disappointment. He says:

"Under English influence a number of works have been issued from the press of late years, but these possess little originality, and are mostly translations" (Article on vernacular literature given in the Imperial Gazetteer of India—New Edition, Vol. III, (1908 A. D.) at page 430.).

I am afraid Sir George has based this statement on indirect evidence, for in the very place from which I have quoted him he says that Gujarati language has not produced any giants like Tulsidas, Suradas and others. In making that statement he seems to forget poets like Premamantri, Dayaram and others with whose works evidently he was not in direct touch, for I have reasons to believe that he has not that much familiarity with Gujarati Literature as he has with Hindi Literature.

I shall cite one more evidence of undeserved censure passed on modern Gujarati poetry. Rev. Mr. H. R. Scott, Head of the Mission at Surat, read in 1911 A. D. a paper before a Gujarati Missionary Conference. This is his appreciation of modern Gujarati poetry:

"There is a modern poetry over which I do not advise you to spend time. It is the work of highly educated men, who aim at 'clothing the poetic fancies of English and Sanskrit poets in rather 'high flown Gujarati. It is for the most part very artificial—full of

जो सरज वली भापमे पड़ी न्होती म्हारी घूळमोम; ।  
 ज्योति भसंद सांग जदि, जेर्ना तेज दक्षे वीषी व्योम; ।  
 कोइ संत बतावो ए वाट.  
 संसारने द्वाने वायरे याय परपरवा हीप शुद; ।  
 जीवन एर्वा अहिंसा बद्देतिपा; म्हारे शुल्क भमरोना छुद;  
 कोइ संत बतावो ए वाट;  
 बपाने अपरे लीटो ने सन्द्याने कठि विदाय;  
 एवा रे स्नेहने सोणके म्हारं जीवतर मोर्टा याय;  
 कोइ संत बतावो हिम्य वाट;  
 पाले पाले पावर ग्रहने, धार्लये ठ्यों अन्यगार,  
 पामर देहनी पीड पड़ी वही भवरण केरो मार।  
 इये संत दोरो उरवाट.

(*Anjali*; a Collection of poems by Keshav H. Seth, page 100)

This is not a translation of Cardinal Newman's famous hymn, "Lord Kindly Light". Nor is it an echoing of that piece. Even though it derives its informing spirit from a translation of Cardinal Newman's hymn, which begins with प्रेमल ज्योति न्हारो दायवी म्हारो जीवन पूँज उजाल्य the thought resonance whereof must have been treasured in the poet's subconsciousness, this piece presents quite an original poetic effusion, a creation, embodying beautiful thought in beautiful words. The poem gives a pathetic expression to the cry of the life-pilgrim who has lost his way in the dark tangle of this world,—a cry addressed to "somo" benign saint who can guide the pilgrim. The pilgrim, though lost in the wood of this life, distinctly recollects his old home,—heaven, where suns do not rise and set, where eternal light shines and even pierces down into this world. The third stanza is conceived in an exquisite spirit of poetic flight: in it the pilgrim laments the vain oscillations of his life in a dream of love, a love which buds forth on the lips of the Dawn and fades away on the banks of Eve. To call this poem an imitation of English poetry clothed in artificial and obscure language is nothing short of slander born of prejudice and nurtured by jealousy, feelings which blind the adverse critic to the distinction between imitation and inspiration. And

remember please, this piece is but a type representing good modern Gujarati poetry.

I am tempted to present one more instance from modern poetry for the benefit of critics of the class represented by the Reverend Mr. Scott—

‘**શું પ્રાણરૂપ છૂલે પ્રમો ! દુષ્પદ્રાકાર દુગન્ધ ત્રદ્મે થજો,**  
**શું હૃદયસર્વતીતે પ્રમો ! રવ મધુર મગ ત્રદ્મે થજો.**  
**શું જીવનની દુષ્પરાવિમાં પ્રશુ ! વાદ્યચંદ ત્રદ્મે થજો,**  
**શું જીવનના દુષ્પવદ્ધનમાં દુન્દર તરંગ ત્રદ્મે થજો.**  
**શું પ્રતિવિચારની વાદળીમાં વારિતદ્વારા ત્રદ્મે થજો,**  
**શું દ્વિષ્ટકમલતણી મધુંધારાવે સેચ્વે ત્રદ્મે થજો.**  
**શું કલ્પનાના મેધપદુપે રમ્ય રંગ ત્રદ્મે થજો,**  
**શું આત્મના કર્ષ્ણપ્રવાસે પાંખદ્વપ ત્રદ્મે થજો.**

(A poem by Mr. Chämpati V. Udeśi editor of *Narachetana*, published in the Spring number of *Kachcha Vartamāna*, sometime in April or May 1925, quoted in an article—*Sahitya māshakmāvalokana* in the *Prajābandhu* (an Ahmedabad weekly) of 17th May 1925)

Who will accuse this charming little poem full of classical elegance of style and real poetic fervor and thought, of being an imitation of Western poetry? And yet there is in this piece an unperceived vein of a poetic attitude, not borrowed from, but inspired by, the light from the West,—nevertheless presenting a decided originality which no one can deny. Shall I attempt a translation, even at the risk of reducing the beauty of the original? Perhaps, I should. So here it is

In the blossom of my breath,  
 Be thou the sweetening smell, oh Lord !  
 In the music of my heart,  
 Be thou the gentle note, oh Lord !  
 In the woe filled night of life  
 Be thou my lovely moon, oh Lord !

In my happy stream of life ! ! ! !  
 Be thou the dancing wave, oh Lord !  
 In every thought cloud of my mind  
 Be thou the water-soul, oh Lord !  
 In the lotus of my joy  
 Be thou the honey sweet, oh Lord !  
 In the rain bow of my fancy,  
 Be thou the beauteous tints, oh Lord !  
 In the upward march of Soul  
 Be thou my helping wing, oh Lord !

I cannot resist the temptation to add one more specimen

तु महाराष्य रवीं रिच व्यापी रहो,  
 रथी वली वितां यं वर्दे दु ?  
 अदिल अद्वाण रसराज रेणी रहो,  
 रसताणी वाहकी युं पर्दे दु ?  
 युष्मि शणगारीं अद्वृत अर्दंकार्यी,  
 याम् अर्दंशार रस्ती व्यां भासे;  
 भोद नधीं कास्यनी, मात्र जीवी रहो  
 दुज महाराष्यनी एक भासे.

Here is a feeble rendering of this sublime little piece  
 Thou pervadest this whole world with the chant of thy grand  
 Epic, How dare I then compose my poor song ?  
 Thou flowest this whole Universe with thy grand stream of  
 Love How dare I offer then my cup of humble worship ?  
 Thou hast decked with wondrous beauty this Creation all around  
 All speech a lornment there availeth not

I hunger not after poetry, sustained am I by hope and longing  
 for the Music of thy Epic grand !

I need hardly say that modern Gujarati poetry, so rashly con-  
 demned in ignorance and neglect by foreign critics, can  
 offer gems of rare beauty and originality which would fill more space  
 than I can command here

## PROSODY IN GUJARĀTÎ LITERATURE.

The mention of the contrast between modern and ancient Gujarātî poetry suggests the adjective problem of the Gujarātî Prosody mould into which poetry was cast in ancient literature and in which it finds appearance now. The broad distinction is thus ancient Gujarātî literature even upto Dayârâmi's time almost invariably adopted the form of *pada*, *deśi*, song (including *garabî* in later days), whereas in modern poetry Sanskrit metres, as well as metres familiar to Apabhramsa and Hindi literatures (like कवित, दुहा, चार्पाई स्वैया and the like) have found favour. Not that songs and *garabis* are altogether banished, they still occupy a considerable place, but classical metres began to be adopted with the rise of modern poetry on a very large scale. A brief conspectus of Gujarātî prosody therefore deserves a place here.

Classification of Gujarātî metres      The present day Gujarātî prosody, then covers the following classes of metrical moulds:-

- I. (a) Classical metres (popularly known as અધારમેલ વૃત્તો), such as શાંત્રૂલવિશીદિત, વસન્તતિલકા, મેન્દ્રાકાન્તા, માલિની, ઇરિણી and the like;
- (b) Classical metres based merely on syllabic quantities (માત્રાગાળ) e. g. ગીતિ, આર્દ્રા etc., i.e. ગાયા of all kinds;
- (c) Classical metres based merely on numeric measure of syllables, e. g. અદૃષ્ટ (the only survival of Vedic metrical forms).
- II. Post-classical metres (popularly known as માત્રામેલ છંડ) based merely on syllabic quantity:
  - (a) Metres derived from Apabhramsa poetry;
  - (b) those derived from Hindi poetry;
  - (c) new forms concocted by later poets (to be seen in Dalpatrâm's "Pingala.")
- III. Forms inherited or copied from older poets; such as ગરબી, દેવી, પદ.

In this connection, a look at the origin and history of the गर्बी mould will be interesting. It must be admitted that to trace the history of the *garbī* is no easy task. Mr Chhaganlal V Raval gives three *garbīs* in the Chaitra number (V S 1968) of *Vasanta* at p. 119-120 attribute to Narasinha Mehta. But I have grave doubts about their genuineness.<sup>57</sup> Besides, it is strange that *garbī* should have existed in Narasinha's time and disappeared for several centuries after him. Then, again, a *garbī* referred to at p. 231 n. in पारामतु जीवनचरित by Sankaraprasada Chhaganlal Raval is attributed to Narasinha Mehta which runs thus

यदृ तुदने वारु रे जार्दं मा जल भरवा

It is claimed to be the original of the type taken by Dayarama in his famous *garbī* गीर्म सामृजी दण्डे रे के वदृमी दहो दगे is really not of that critical mould, as will be seen from subsequent lines in that *garbī* given it in full in an appendix below (Appendix A). Take only the following lines —

ए दे काढो तु छे गोरी यहुभर एहेने न मलिए रे ।

मनसा वाधा कटु द्यु तुमने माणसमापी दटीए ॥

यदृ तुदने ॥

57 Of these three the first one is already quoted by me above (see p. 209), and I have there expressed my doubts as to its genuineness. The other two also are in the same mould belonging to a period much later than Narasinha. Mr Chhaganlal Raval's explanation of the ल word in each line — ल instead of the usual beauty term लेन — is far from convincing. He assumes in the first place that the *garbīs* are obscene and then theorizes that ल was the word in use in Narasinha's time. It makes no sense, certainly not such sense as लेन (of course an ornamental term meant to add grace to the verse). The first *garbī* is of coarse composed in a charming style (which could have been done by any graceful composer like Dayarama or any other) but the other two are of very inferior merit, unlikely to have come from the lips of Narasinha Mehta. The following lines in the third *garbī* are decidedly coarse in thought and word, which Narasinha Mehta would never have dared to adopt —

पराण्यो जाणग एरी वात के गदरा यात्रा हे लो

पराण्यो पौराहं मारा रात क भार रातो फगे हे लो

They are longer, much longer, in *mātrā* value than शीख सामूजी देहे &c. and different in rhythm and *heatus* (यति). At the most, it may be said that the opening line may perhaps have furnished Dayārāma with a model for his song,—शीख सामूजी &c., though I believe it is possible to fit the opening line into the rhythm of the *āntārd*, i.e. the subsequent couplets, and yet the second line (which forms the *astā* (अस्ताई) fits more with the subsequent *āntārd*s in metrical construction than with the opening line, a fact which is significant and favors the theory that even the opening line is not of the type of शीख सामूजी देहे रे

There is the *garbi* of Dayārāma's, beginning उभव्य ने हुं सजनी म्हारी रजनी क्या रमी आवी रे, which is traced back to Bhālīna and Narasinha Mehta. Thus, so far as the metrical construction goes, is not really a *garbi* but a *pada* (पद), or *dehi* (देही). Thus, any attempt to take back the *garbi* several centuries before Dayārāma must fail. True, there are *garbis*, composed by some poets of the Swāmīnārāyaṇa cult, e.g. अविनाशी आवो रे के जमवा कृष्ण हरि, but then they all came after Dayārāma's time. As I have stated before in dealing with Dayārāma's poetry, I admit that *garbi* was an institution existing since unknown date, and perhaps a few *garbis* were sung therein. But it was Dayārāma who focussed the *garbi*, nourished it, grew it, enlarged its scope, and popularized it by his own vocal musical powers and performances—a work which was continued after him by his pupils, Girijabākara and another. Nay, it was he who created the real type of *garbi* form, and so far I am prepared to modify the, literal statement made earlier that Dayārāma did not create the *garbi*, for the *garbi* with its true soul was his creation.<sup>58</sup>

58. The derivation of the word *garbi* is not certain. However, I may venture a guess. गर्बो वीरावबो is an expression used in connection with the institution of *garbi*. In times not quite gone by an earthern jar with several holes in its sides and with a lamp inside it was placed on the ground and females (and sometimes males) moved round it, singing *garbds* (or *garbis*), the custom still prevails in some places. This lamp may have been called गर्भदृश (a lamp in the interior of the jar). This word contracted into गर्भो-गर्बो, by the process of sense-transference known as *lakshana*, came to mean the song sung round the lamp jar.

I make a distinction between *garbo* and *garbi*. The former is a lengthy piece, heavy, and regardless of compactness of subject matter, while *garbi* is a delicate and refined formation of mould and compact, concise in its subject matter. Compare Vallabha Bhat's आनन्दमो गरबो or कलिकाटनो गरबो with Dayashāma's शीरा सामूही दे छे रे or कदमदो कामणगारो रे or हुं शु जाणु प्पाले मुनमा हुं दीहुं, and you will at once perceive the fine distinction between *garbo* and *garbi*. The term *garbo* signifying the performance itself is again another sense of the word

Another distinction a *garbi* is not the same thing as the song accepted in the art of music. The musical flourishes known to these songs are not easily workable in *garbis* which, so far, are of limited musical power and generally do not fully develop any individual *raga* as known to music, but mostly contain elements of different *ragas* in stray forms, though artistically combined. I, therefore, decline to recognise such songs as भारत मंत्रा युगट पर वारी जाड or भारत मोरि गलियनमै गिरपारी as *garbis*, inspite of the attempts made to introduce them as *garbis* in the performances by several ladies.

I need not dwell at length on *desas* and *padas*. These are forms familiar to the 15th and 16th century poets and their successors. I shall have soon below to state something about their metrical constitution.

What are the essential components of metre? In order to properly understand the present day Gujarati Essential constituents prosody, we should trace our steps back to of metre the *sams* *et cetera*, the Vedic metre, and work our way down through the classic and Apabhramsha periods. True, there is no externally visible link joining all these stages, and to a certain extent new forms of metre emerged out of nothing as it were, and the originators thereof from time to time "lisped in numbers as the numbers came". Yet, close observation will indicate a running thread of affinity through all the stages. It would take a long treatise to investigate this aspect. It is enough to rest content with the above indication.

To take, then, the Vedic metre at the outset, Vedic Metre was not dependent on accent, as in English, although accent existed in Vedic Sanskrit, whether it was pitch accent or stress accent is not decisively known, it is believed it was partly stress and partly pitch.<sup>59</sup> The number of syllables and perhaps their quantity are the essential constituents of metrical form in the Vedic hymns.<sup>60</sup> Nevertheless the accent in the words, its presence, gave a rhythmic turn to the verse, if not to the metre *per se*.

And yet, independently of the accent, underneath, or in spite of the outward ruggedness of metre, we detect the rhythm of classic metres, relieved here and there by variety in the shape of apparent break of such rhythm. Take, for instance, the following

(a)

यो जात एव प्रेप्तुमो मनेत्यान् देवो देवान् कर्त्तवा पूर्णपूर्णत् ।  
 यस्य गृह्णाद्वैदेति अन्यतेरात् गृह्णस्य मन्त्रा स जनास् इन्द्रः ॥ १ ॥  
 यः गृह्णित्वा व्यप्तमानामेतद् यः पूर्णतान् प्रदृष्टितां अरम्णात् ।  
 यो अंतरिक्षं विमुमे वरीयो यो यामस्तप्तात् स जनास् इन्द्रः ॥ २ ॥

( Rigveda II-12 )

(b)

परा दि मे विमन्यवः परंति वस्य इष्ये ।  
 यपो न वैस्तीर्णव ॥ ४ ॥

( Ibid I-25 )

(c)

सप्त चक्रान् वेहति काऽ एव सप्तास्य नामीरमृते न्वः ।  
 स इमा विषा भुवनान्यज्ञव काऽः स इयते प्रप्तुमो द देवः ॥ २ ॥  
 पूर्णः दुष्मोषि काऽ भाद्रितस्त वे पश्यामो वृष्ट्या वृ सन्तः ।  
 स इमा विषा भुवनानि प्रत्यह काऽ तमाहृः परमे व्योमन् ॥ ३ ॥

( Atharva Veda, XIX-53 )

59. See the first volume of these Lectures, p. 280.

60. See Dr. E. Vernon Arnold's "Vedic Metre" p. 6. § 16.

He says there "the metrical value of a word depends solely upon the number and succession of the short and long syllables which it contains, without regard to the position of the accent."

It will be seen that

- in (a) the first half of line one in verse 1 and the second half of line two each read like *indra-rayñi* metre, divested of the accent,
- the second line in verse 2 yields two *charanas* of *indra-rayñi* (reading the अ in अस्तमात् as a short syllable),
- in (b) the first line yields the rhythm of *pramāñikā* metre
- in (c) in the 2nd verse the latter half of the first line gives *indra-rayñi*, reading अ॒ (iu = प॒) तु॒ य॒ by *stava bhakti*, in the 3rd verse the latter half of line 2 is also *indra-rayñi* in rhythm, अ॒यो॒ in अ॒योमन्॒ being अ॒यो॒ by *stava bhakti*, and the remaining lines give uneven cadences of the respective metres

For this reason I cannot help regarding the crude attempts<sup>61</sup> at clothing Gujarati versification in Vedic metrical form made by some people as a failure and travesty of the Vedic metre, for Vedic accent is unknown to Gujaratis!

Next, we may examine the essential constituents of the metres of the classical period. They consist of three divisions

- (1) Those which have for their constituents the fixed arrangement of the syllables according to their quantity: e. g. अ॒ य॒ and अ॒ य॒, shorts and longs,
- (2) Those which owe their form to the total number of syllables (i. e. *mora*) in a verse with certain conditions governing the rhythmic movement of the whole, and (3) a few metres (e. g. *anushṭup*) which depend only on the number of syllables irrespective of their quantitative values, except in certain places in the verse

61. See the so-called *Ricchis* in the three plays by Mr. K. M. Munshi *Purnadara-pūrṇayati*, *Grīhalata Ālāmā* and *Tiryaka* (wherein the hymns (I) are composed by a friend of the author's).

Under (1) come metres like मालिनी, वसन्ततिलका, मन्दा  
क्रान्ता, हरिणी, पृथ्वी, शर्दूलविक्रीहित, घग्घरा, *et cetera*

Under (2) come metres like आर्प्ति, गीति and their variations.

and under (3) comes अद्युप mainly

The system of measuring metres under class (1) is the conventional one of अङ्गण, combinations of three syllables each, called धगण, रगण, तगण, भगण, जगण, सगण, मगण and नगण, according to the fixed order of quantitative values of each syllable, thus they are respectively indicated thus ०—०—०, ०—०—०, ०—०—०, ०—०—०, ०—०—०, ०—०—०, ०—०—०, ०—०—०.

# य र त भ ज

—, —, —

## स म न

This system, being only one of convenience, is not true to the rhythmic formation of the metres concerned, which depends on the components, happily termed *sandhis* by Kesarvalal II. Dhruva. Thus—

वसन्ततिलका, as conventionally symbolized, would be त भ ज ज ग ग (ग=guru, long), e. g.

स्वा कामिनो मद्दनद्विष्वदादरन्ति

would be scanned thus—

स्वांकामि । नोमद । नदूति । शुराह । रं । ति ।

but the really rhythmic composition is indicated by the *sandhis*—  
स्वां कामिनो । मरुन्तु । तिष्ठुरा । हर्त्तिं ।

The measuring of metres falling under class (2) is in consonance with their rhythmic formation, and is done by means of what is known as मात्रापांड. Thus

गीति is shown as composed of seven *gāṇas* of 4 *mātrās* each with a long syllable at the end, in each द्वं or half of the stanza. The rhythmic nature is further secured by the restrictive conditions (1) that no odd *gāṇa* shall be a जग्नि i. e. ~ ~ ~, and (2) the sixth *gāṇa* should be a जग्नि or should consist of 4 shorts. This whole definition can be expressed in the following compact formula

દાદા । ચા આ । દાદા । ચા આ । દાદા । દાદા । દાદા । ગા ।

where દા = two માત્રાદા, i. e. — or ~~,

ચા આ = four માત્રાદા, i. e. — — or — ~ ~ or ~ — — or ~ — ~ ~;

દ = short (દા)

ગા = long (ગુણ)

However, I would tack on a further element noting the existing fact, viz. that the last syllable should be, not ગા (i. e. two માત્રાદા), but a સુત સિલ્લા of four માત્રાદા. I would therefore put ચા (આ) for ગા in the above scheme.

It will be seen that the દાદા symbol will secure the condition that no odd ગણ shall be a જગણ while the sixth ગણ represented by દાદા, will be formed either by a જગણ or by four shorts.

Next, we deal with present day metres in Gujarati.

These fall under the following groups —

- (1) classic metres, like માલિની, મન્દ્રવાન્તા etc indicated above
- (2) metres based simply on the number of syllables, irrespective of their time-value, e.g. મનદર દંડ, પનદ્રાંતી દંડ etc.
- and (3) metres dependent on the total time value of the syllables forming a verse, with certain restrictions as to તિંકા, or time-beat, which secures the rhythmic nature of the verse. This restriction can be secured by symbolic formula, e.g. દર્શિત, usually described as consisting of 26 or 28 માત્રાદા, with તિંકા on માત્રાદા numbers 1-4-8-11-15-18-22-25 or 3-6-10-13-17-20-24-27 and avoiding a જગણ coming in the તિંકા place, with the last syllable a long (ગુણ), can briefly and yet fully be symbolized by the formula —

દાદ દાદા । દાદ દાદા । દાદ દાદા । દાદ ના ।

or દા । દાદ દાદા । „ „ „

according as you take it as having 26 or 28 માત્રાદા, the presence of ના in the તિંકા દાદ દાદા, provides against the breach of rhythm due to a જગણ coming in the તિંકા and the ના at the end of the line securing the other condition the formula automatically secures the તિંકા on the several માત્રાદા prescribed. I owe this rational and abridged

system to the erudite essay on પદરચનાના પ્રકાર contributed by D. B. Keshavalal H. Dhruba to the second Gujarati Sahitya Parishad

[Note As in the case of the last syllable of ગીતિ (or આર્યા) in the each દલ, I would insist that the last ગી in the 26 મદ્રા દર્શિત is really a four મદ્રા પુંત. This condition is necessary to secure a rhythmic link with the succeeding ચારણ.]

Metres falling under class (3) require no explanation, their description already given automatically fixes the mould.

Regarding the essential constituents of *desis*, *padas*, *garabis* there is a general belief, certainly based on the ignorance of the root nature of metrical formation, that these moulds require no time measurement by *mātrās*, or if they do, there is no fixed rule to guide their formation. This belief is held by persons of some pretensions to expert knowledge. It is quite possible to expose the erroneous nature of such a belief. Take any *desi*, *pada* or *garb*, you cannot help chanting it in time measure, a fact quite sufficient to refute the erroneous view just stated. The error arose from the fact that our old poets took violent liberties with these formations compressing into a short time-compass any number of long syllables or spinning out short ones into any arbitrary time-length. It is not impossible to frame correct rules fixing the moulds for these apparently loose metres. In fact, the late Navalarāma Lakshmirāma began an attempt in this direction, starting it in his ગારવાસ્તવી, but somehow or other he did not complete his efforts. It is not possible to deal with this matter here at any length. However, I may furnish one or two illustrations.

(a) Compare the દાદ �mould used by Premānanda and the same adopted by Dayārāma and you will see the contrast between ruggedness and metrical correctness.

1. અપકાર દીઠો અતરિદે, અસુર ધને લાયિયા,  
ગિરિતશ્વર માંસ શોળિત માયા કરીને લાયિયા.  
કરી કોરણ કદશદાય રેણુ કરે ભયમીત ઘણી,  
દ્વાર્યા દીયી દશો દિશા માયા કીધી પોતાતણી.

(Premānanda, Madālasā, VI)

२. मणिरस्तमय गिरिराज थी, थीनाय मन लोभाय,  
अद्यक्ष मधुर उशद द्विजगण, शोभा कही नव जाय,  
पातपश्चीचन मन्दरी दयामातणां दहु उन्द,  
ते मध्य विलसे दाढ नवर रसिरमणि गोसिन्द.

( *Dayārāma, Rasikat-mallatha*, LXXXII, 5-6 )

The correct rhythm of दादालदा in (2) is obvious, whereas in (1) the lines limp at certain places. This is irrespective of the fact that दाढ़ need not run uniformly on the दादालदा scheme and that दादालदा दा दादालदा, दादालदा दागा and similar variations characterize it.

(b) Take the following line of the regular metre known as प्लवंगम:—

उत्रे धाती दाय उडीपर लानता,

and the following line of a *garuli* of the type of आतो मातो परदुन्धमनी रात्य जो:

हा ॥ दैव ! यु विपरीत दूष्टहुं दीपकुं ?

You can read one and the other in convertible forms, the underlying metric formation being one and the same, the difference consisting in the chanting of them and the shifting of the पति, thus in प्लवंगम the पति is after the eleventh मात्रा, while the *garuli* is a non stop line altogether. Read the *garuli* line with the *caecum* after त in विपरीत and the त turned into a three *mātrā* प्लव, and it will be प्लवंगम, or read and chant the प्लवंगम line without the *caecum* after य in दीपकु and without lengthening the र in उडीपर into a प्लव, and it will be the *garuli* of the type stated.

[ Note. I would not insist on the प्लव in the प्लवंगम metre, for it is possible to read it as a one *mātrā* syllable and yet secure the rhythm. The प्लव variation is but an ornamental element in chanting.]

Modern novelties During recent years modern poets have introduced certain innovations in the composite structure of several metres, e. g.

(a) उपचाति-यात्रनिष्ठा

(b) संस्कृतार्थी

(c) અમ્યસ્તશિલારિણી

(d) ખંડશિલારિણી

and the like Instances of such combinations and variations may be interesting

ઉપજાતિ વસન્તતિદકા:

પ્રચણદ એ જ્યોતિ અખણદ ઘેતો  
વિશાળ આ વિશ વિલોપી દેતો,  
ના જ્યોતિધી મિન દીસે જ કાંદુ,-  
આ પેર જો ! પ્રદૃતિ હરી યુસુપમાંદિ.

(*Hridaya-vind* by Narsinharia Bholanatha,  
*Dnyaya gāyaka gana*, st. 58 )

The author of this work believed he had created this original combination, till years afterwards he heard the following lines quoted from the *Bhāgavata*

તં સર્વબાદપ્રતિરૂપશીળં  
દન્દે મહાદુદ્ધયમારમનિષ્ઠાયોપમ् ॥

(Probably from the XII<sup>th</sup> *Shandha*)

which present exactly the same combination

Of a different, but kindred, type is the combination of *pramāṇikā* metre and *praharvini* in the following lines,

મુરહુશદૃતુણવા:

પૃપદ્ધનરન્તિ સંસદિ ।

પ્રાસાદે ધનપતિરામકેશવાનામ् ॥

(Patanjali under Pāṇini's II-11-34 has these lines)

(Dr. Sir R. G. Rhandarkar refers to these lines, without quoting them, in his *Vaishnavism and Saivism*, p. 13 )

(b) ખંડશિલારિણી:

જગ ! રાજવજે ધોર ગોતરાં,  
વણી નચવજે કાન્ત ચીતરાં,  
નમેરી છાયાનો વિશ્વ તવ ચેરો ઘટ થણે,  
ચાચાતી જ્યોતસાનો મળિમય પ્રાતિંચંપ દીઁપણે.

(*Maṇimaya Sonthi*, by Nhanālal D. Kavi, *Ketaldink Kātayo*, Part I, pp. 62-63 )

NOTE—This combination was first devised by Manisankara R. Bhatta, so claims Mr Rāmanārāyaṇa Pāthaka in his Introduction to *Pūrvādīpa* (collection of Manisankara's poems) at p. 46 thereof. The claim is based on the poem entitled *Udgām*. A look at it, however, shows that it is a further combination of अभ्यस्त शिल्परिणी (which I shall soon illustrate) and the खंड शिल्परिणी of Nānālāl's *Manimaya Senthī*. This pure खंड शिल्परिणी came into being in this poem in A. D. 1898, and in Narasinharao's poems in A. D. 1907.

(c) अभ्यस्तशिल्परिणीः

प्रिये पाशम्बुजे,  
इहे रहारा ओने,  
विषाते ! गेवी ए तव दृतद ! ब्राह्मा रसम्बै  
समपेटु देने जीवन रसधोक्ते, अतुपमे  
पनविमवमां विजुत इसेः  
जलपिजलमां को नदी इसेः  
अंचे व्योमान्तरमां भट्टदृष्टी उयोति अंडु यसेः  
सरि त्वारी यूति हृष्यमवने एम विट्से.

(*Indulumāra*, Act I, scene 11, pp. 27-28,  
by Nānālāl D. Kavi)

Note—Mr Nānālāl, like Manisankara Bhatta in his poem, *Udgām*, has combined here अभ्यस्त with खड शिल्परिणी, the first half of this stanza being अभ्यस्त शिल्परिणी and the second one being खंड शिल्परिणी.

Prof. R. K. Thākor, in his poems in *Bhāṇḍām*, has multiplied metrical freaks like these by way of अभ्यस्त पृष्ठी, अभ्यस्त भवानाता and the like, in one case ("वधारे वर्णेदु ना" at p. 66) अभ्यस्त is a misnomer, for only at the end of the fourth line of each stanza he has repeated the six syllables beginning the first line, more as a remin. interlinking the stanzas, he could have rightly named it शृंगारिण शिल्परिणी.

(d) खंडशिल्पीतः

अणगाण्या अग्नाणहना  
गोट विज पद्म भरी

પ્રહૃતિ ધન અંધારમાં  
ચાલી અનન્તપણા મળી.

(“શુદ્ધ”, *Hridaya vína*, by Narasinharao  
Bholanâtha, pp. 49-50)

The peculiar features of this metre are explained at length in the notes to the poem “શુદ્ધ”. It will suffice here to point out that the scheme of the metre is —

દાલ દાદા દાલદા  
દાલ દાદા દાલદા  
દાલ દાદા દાલદા  
દા દાલ દાદા દાલદા.

The scheme secures a rhythm different from the ordinary હરિગીત by lopping off an extra દા at the end of each of the first two lines and at the same time contributes an element of variety by linking the third and the fourth lines with an initial દા in the fourth line. True, the 3rd and the 4th lines, read together, make a line of ordinary હરિગીત, but coming only once, the initial દા in the 4th line sounds more as a new feature than in the ordinary હરિગીત, especially as the દા is lopped off from the end of the first and second lines.

Thus being so, this true ખંડ હરિગીત is easily distinguishable from certain imaginary imitations thereof which adopt the merely external trick of cutting a line into parts, without lopping off of syllables, and virtually yield the ordinary હરિગીત scheme in its entirety. Thus, for instance the following lines of a poem by Mr A F Khabardâr, are nothing but the ordinary હરિગીત in spite of the ostensible trick of line-division —

કયારી ઝસુદની  
કોમલ દની,  
કયારી ધુવર તે ફાંટામણો ?  
આ રંગ શો ન્યારો ઘણો,  
ઓ રજૂત્તાણી વી રોંગના !

(*Viningand Karmadevi*, published in “Vasantî”,  
Adhika Srâvana, 1965, p. 313)

Simply read the lines re-arranged thus —

कष्टां दुमुदनी कोमल बनी कष्टां भुवर से पांडामर्यो ?  
आ रंग शो न्यासो पर्यो, भो रजपृष्ठाणी वीर्दीगना !

and you discover the orthodox हरिगीत of 28 *mātrās* in each line

It will be noticed that the types (b), (c), and (d) given above comprise metres with internal variations of their parts, whereas the type (a) presents combinations of different metres. One more instance of this latter type, and a happy combination may be added here. It is found in Nhanalal D Kavi's poem noted above, *Mayimaya Sentsi*. Here is the instance

आला पेला इयाम अलिष्टरंगे  
घाठी ! त्वारी भूति जो ! मेघरंगे;  
दिवान्तमः गीत थीं पोरा गाने !  
घाठी स्वहां ए प्रणयरसीहुं आत्मविन्दु विराजे.

Here we find the first three lines in शालिनी metre, and the fourth one in मन्दाशान्ता. The two metres combine easily, because their constitution is kindred, thus —

शालिनी — गामा गामा गामा गामा गामा;  
मन्दाशान्ता — गामा गामा [ दल दला ] गामा गाल गामा;

i. e. शालिनी results from dropping the middle *sandhi* (दल दला) from मन्दाशान्ता, and, conversely, मन्दाशान्ता is formed by inserting दल दला (as a middle *sandhi*) between the first and second *sandhis* of शालिनी, a fact which makes the two metres homogeneous, in a way

Similarly उपजाति-यसन्ततिलका possesses the element of kinship in the fact that यसन्ततिलका is formed by wedging उपज into इन्द्रवया (which differs from उपजाति only in that its first syllable is long), at the end of the first *sandhi*. Thus

गामा उपा [ उपज ] गा उपगाल गामा, यसन्ततिलका,

and dropping [ उपज ] we have गामा उपगा उपगाल गामा,

i. e. इन्द्रवया. Thus in both the cases the combinations are harmonious.

(b) Under modern royalties in metre there is the foreign importation of what is crudely and wrongly called the गुम्फ metre. It

is an import from Persian prosody, and in Gujarātī very few poets have succeeded in bringing in the true form and spirit of the Persian original. Bālāśankara Ullāsārāma was the pioneer in this line, and Manilāl Dvivedi, "Kalāpī," and several others come after him with varied metrical success or rather failure. I need not encumber this Chapter on Prosody with illustrations.

(c) Next, in the line of modern novelties, we come to Nhānālāl D. Kavi's original freak in the shape of metre less verse,—a misnomer, for verse is prose turned into metrical form, whereas Nhānālāl's innovation is innocent of metrical element. This must be said for this innovation that although in its original attempt presented in his *दसन्तोत्सव* the metreless mould, if it could be called a mould, was a failure, being nothing but pure prose cut up into pieces of unequal lengths to give them a false semblance of metre, his later compositions in this line possess a certain kind of cadence which would entitle it to be called impassioned prose, though certainly not rhythmical metre, as evidenced in the poet's play *Jayd Jayanta*, and subsequent compositions.

(d) Under Modern novelties, may I notice certain liberties taken with metre by Gujarātī poets in the shape of substituting two चये for one चट and *vice versa*? I hesitate, because it is more a defect than a form. I do not ignore the fact that such license which is known as समावकात्व (Equivalent Substitution) is recognized in the *Prihrita-Paingala*, but it has its restrictions, more unwritten and inherent than stated in rules, which result in smoothness of sound, while in the Gujarātī poets I have in view the liberty gives a distinct jar to the ear, especially when it causes सन्धिपंगः e. when it murders the metrical *sandhi*. This liberty is different from the apparent ruggedness of metre in Vedic and post-Vedic periods, already illustrated by me above, where the apparent ruggedness is but a real source of variety and charm.

Illustrations are needed to make these remarks clear. Here they are—

(a) Modern Gujarātī Poetry.

Only very few poets sin in this direction, in fact only one such deserves notice, on account of his established standing as a true poet, which is the very reason for not forgiving his metrical solecisms of this kind, inspite of his elaborate but hopeless defence in the Introduction to his collection of poems I mean Prof. Balvants K. Thakor's poems (in his *Dhanalālī*) (See pp. 25-27 of the Introduction)

- (1) तमी पट्ट वर्तमान, प्राचीनपी पोषी ने  
(*Dhanalālī*, p. 51, l. 10)
- (2) उपेती जतनेपी सीग, लोभावती लोयन  
(*Ibid*, p. 52, l. 14)
- (3) घरे चीरी उन्दर उरार दपिता, आब निषट  
(*Ibid*, p. 65, l. 11)
- (4) घरे द्वारा चीतल कमलगडे भीट छजने  
(*Ibid*, p. 65, l. 3)

Instances (1) and (2) are lines of पृष्ठी metre, the प्रा and दो respectively therein are metrical atrocities in the shape of one गुण for two चाप्य, as they break the rhythm mercilessly Nos. (3) and (4) are lines of चिरपिणी metre, the दूर and तात्त्व respectively are metrical violations of an inverse type, two चाप्य for one गुण,—violations equally unpardonable owing to their defiant effrontry

I could multiply instances from this poet's works, he revels in such fantastic liberty in metre. But these are sufficient to serve as types.

#### (b) Prakrita-Psingals.

- (1) तिरु पाए बणरित अक्षवर परो एकेण बीहू मणो
- (2) उण भस्सीतदृष्टप्रगतपरिभं एभारिते दात्मे
- (3) अउतीते दृष्ट सच्चतप्त वृणा विस्ताम येजपिभो
- (4) गुरु पालीएह पारिसेण दृष्टभा दिट्टाणसिट्टाणभं
- (5) भयु सेसाइभर्दुर्दय दृसो पंचानुसो दृष्टभो

These instances show, in the syllables underlined, the substitution of two लघुे for one गुरु, which, inspite of the metre (शार्दूल विक्रीटि) being a पर्णटक्ष, does not jar on the ear, the reason being their initial position in the line. None the less these are cases of liberty in metre, which true rhythmists will not perpetrate. The inverse case (i.e. one गुरु for two लघुे) is not traceable in this work, it is too much of a rhythmic blunder to receive recognition.

### (c) Apparent ruggedness in Vedic metre

I have already cited instances of this a few pages before. I need not repeat them. However, I may quote from Dr E. Vernon Arnold to show that a large scope for elasticity is allowed in Vedic metre. He says

"There are few parts of the verse in which the poets do not consider themselves free at times to depart from the usual rhythms in the Rig Veda ("Vedic Metre, in its historical development", p. 9, 31). Still he shows by analysis a sort of undercurrent of rhythm on the whole."

### (d) Apparent ruggedness in post-Vedic metre.

The following instances from the *Bhagavad Gita*, XI, will illustrate my point -

- (1) किरीटिन गदिनं चक्रिणं च  
सेजोरातिं सर्वतो दीप्तिमतम् ।  
पद्याभि स्वां दुर्मिरीह्य समन्ताद्  
दीप्तानलार्जुतिमप्रमेयम् ॥ १७ ॥
- (2) रूपं महात् ते बहुरूपेन  
महावाहो बहुवाहुरूपादम् ।  
बहुदर्शं बहुदर्श्माकारादं  
दृष्ट्वा लोकाः प्रव्यपितात्तथादम् ॥ २३ ॥
- (3) कस्माच्छते न बमेरन् महात्मन्  
गरीयसे भग्नानोऽन्यादिकर्त्ते ।  
अनन्त देवेश जगतिवास  
त्वमधर्द सदसद् सत्परं यत् ॥ ३७ ॥

These are picked up at random from a string of more or less irregular verses. They are mainly in the उपराति metre of a rugged rhythm. In (1) the irregular rhythm of the first line is relieved by the interpolation of a different regular rhythm (चालिनी) in the 2nd and 3rd lines. In (2) the 2nd and 3rd lines are irregular and the 4th one could read as a चालिनी metre but for the short फि in द्यधिता. In (3) the first line is irregular, the 2nd one is disturbed by the long औ in the place of a short syllable, and the fourth one reads irregular.

In spite of all this, the ruggedness marks variety and a peculiar rhythm is created, just like the more or less intentional variations in Milton's blank verse where an occasional trochee comes in by way of variety in lines of iambics.

(e) Finally, may be noted an original modification of the essential composition of existing metres, which affects the very रूप, the mould, of the metre, in a slight way, but secretly secures its true nature. This trick adds a charm in its variety. I can think of only one instance.

नयन ऊरुहर्षु पेहं... ओनस्ति नवद प्रमातुं,  
जगत भरतुं व्हाला... ! जो सेम ऊतरे तातुं,  
मद्रसन्तानिट्वा... पमरे पराम अलौकिक,  
विरल विभूति वरे... एरनाप आपिदिक.

( *Leanotsara, Dedication, by Nhamalal D. Kavi,*  
1905 A. D. )

The metre in this is द्विरीति, but with two *midris* lopped off in the middle, पेहं जो, व्हाला, मद्रसन्तानिट्वा and वरे would have secured the full complement of the scheme. The change seems to have been made intentionally, and we have to read औ ए, वा and ये respectively as द्विपारित द्व्युक्त vowels. The charm of the sense is enhanced by this innovation in lines 1, 2 and 4, but not much in the 3rd line.

Or, there is another solution each line is really made up of two चालिनीs (as in द्यधिता), there being a necessary pause of two

mātrās after પેણ, વાળા, &c. This is tantamount to the પુત્ત idea, yet avoids the necessity of wedging it in a whole ચરણ

I confess, when I first read this piece I could not pick up the rhythm (the name of the metre not being stated) and at first I thought from the opening half of the line that the metre intended was દર્શિણી, but the latter half would not scan as such, and I gave up the thing as hopeless till my friend, Mr Keśavalāl H. Dhruva discovered the true rhythm secured by the પુત્ત manipulation

#### (D) New elements in metrical signs.

In Gujarati versification the mere fact of syllables being short (हस्त) or long (दीर्घ) does not necessarily indicate दयु and दुर्द values. In Sanskrit हस्त दयु । संयोगे दुर्द । दीर्घच (Pāṇini I iv 10, 11 and 12) ensure the principle of quantity. Not so in Gujarati. It resorts to the employment of - and - as signs for short and long, placed over long and short vowels wherever necessary, this only in the case of એ and ઉ vowels, not એ, ઓ, અ or અસુલાર્ય. Thus, for instance,

જા ગમજને ધોર ગીતદાં,  
ઘડી નચચજે કાન્ત ચીતદાં,  
નમેરી છાયાનો વિકટ તુજ પેરો ઘટ પંદે,  
ચાલતી જ્યોત્સ્નાનો મળિમય પ્રોત્સિ રંધ રીપદે.

This license when indulged in in the case of Sanskrit words is very often jarring to the classical ear, e.g. in શ્રીતિ in the last line of the above. Poets like Manibankar R. Bhatta and a few others are generally free from this sort of blemish in versification.

એ and ઉ at the end of *taibhara* words in Gujarati verse are optionally દયુ or દુર્દ as need be. Thus

રે બાદસાદસિનિ ! દુ પદ્તી વિનાયે ?  
અહાનના વપ્તરીયો રું જાણાયે ?  
ના જાણતી સરલ બાદ ! દુ ધોર માડિ  
સતતું દયામ સરિતા જાઠમાંહિ ભાડી.

( *Hri laya-tanmā*, પણી પટેલી બાદવિપદા, st. 9,

Narasinghbhau Bholanath )

મંચ્યા કરું કરું દીન્યા મધ્યને અતન્દ  
શ્વરા જુદે જાણ દિયે તરતો જ ચન્દ

( Ibid, મહસ્યગંભી અને શાસ્ત્ર, st 23 )

In lines, 1, 2, of the first Sloka ( which is a દસન્તત્ત્વિકા ) the એ is શુદ્ધ, in 1. 3 એ is દ્વાર્ય, so is એ in 1. 4. એ in the same line is લાય. In the second half-Sloka the એ of the first એંદુ ( in 1. 1 ) is શુદ્ધ and that of the second એંદુ is લાય, i. e. to say, they are to be pronounced long if શુદ્ધ and short if દ્વાર્ય.

It may be noted that cases of this kind are more numerous as regards એ than એ, by the very nature of Gujarati vocabulary.

This feature in Gujarati versification has its source far back in Apabhramsa, and perhaps in Sanskrit, verse construction. I say "perhaps" with regard to Sanskrit because the license allowed there is only with regard to the short value of a vowel preceding a conjunct consisting of a ર or ર ( See Vol. I of these Lectures p. 108 ), and that too in later Sanskrit noted by Hemachandra. But we are directly concerned with the shortening of એ, ઓ and એ, એ. And for this we have ample evidence in Prakrit works on Grammar and Prosody, thus

(I) Hemachandra lays down

(a) કારિસ્પેરોદ્વારાપવદ ॥

( Si. He VIII-iv-410 )

i. e. in Apabhramsa એ and ઓ found in combination with consonants are generally sounded short

(b) પરાતે એ દ્વારા એ દરાણામ ॥

( Ibid. VIII-v-411 )

At the end of words એ, એ, એ, એ are generally sounded short.

II. Hemachandra, in his work on Prosody, entitled Chanda-nusasana, tells us

પરોની પરાન્તે પ્રાત્તે દસ્તી વા ॥

In Prákrit એ and ઓ at the end of words are sounded short optionally.

In the gloss he adds. "એ, ઓ are already shown to be short in my work on Grammar, hence they are not repeated here"

III *Prákrita-Paingala* lays down

જાદુ દીહોવિ અ વળો છાદુ જીદા પદ્દ હોર સોવિ છાદુ !  
વળો હિ તુરિઅપદિઓ દો તિણિ વિ એક જાણેદુ ॥

I-8

1. e A syllable, although long, is (to be regarded) short if the tongue pronounces it as short, (and) two or three syllables, pronounced quickly, should be regarded as one syllable

IV Mārkandeya, in his *Prákrita-Sarasava* tells us ---

એ જન્દોઽસુરોયેન વળાનાં ગુરુલાઘવદુ ॥

XVII-8

Here (1. e in Nāgara Apabhramśa) syllables are (interchangeably to be pronounced) long or short, according as the metre requires :

Chronologically Hemachandra comes first, then the compiler of *Prákrita Paingala*, and last comes Mārkandeya, whose rule marks a wider license than his predecessors

It may be noted that while, Gujarāti prosody follows the lines of Prákrit and Apabhramśa, it does so restrictedly, and it does not permit the shortening of એ and ઓ, unless we recognise Kavi Dala patarāma's questionable dictum as an authority, for he lays down

એયુગુઠ છલિયે નવ ગળો, ઉધારે ઓક્લાધાય.

(*Gujarāti Pingala*, chap. I-17 7)

Thus his test for syllabic quantity is, not the written form but, the heard sound. The shortened ઓ in ઓક્લાધાય in this line is meant as an illustration. Obviously, the traditions of Apabhramśa versification cling to this writer, through his study of Hindi prosody and perhaps the comparatively modern work in Sanskrit named *Vāni*

*Bhushana*<sup>62</sup> But Gujarāti prosody will not now tolerate this extreme license.

Barring the license allowed by Hemachandra as regards the weak conjuncts in ક and કુ failing to lengthen the preceding short vowel, Sanskrit prosody does not allow the license regarding shortening of એ and ઓ or the weakening of the strong anuendra for the sake of metre. (This does not affect the case of the weak sounds in Vedio literature known as રહી noted in *Pdninsya Siksha*<sup>63</sup>) I am therefore unable to see any Apahhrasna tendency in versification, as Mr Keshavalal H. Dhruba sees, in Jayadeva's compositions. In fact he arbitrarily alters the text for no adequate reasons, and then creates for himself vulnerable points in Jayadeva's verse. I must cite chapter and verse to prove this. In his preface to the third edition of his graceful and charming translation of *Gita-Govinda* he has certain remarks on Jayadeva's verse;<sup>64</sup> he refers to the following lines in the text

- (a) નયનદિનપિય વિગાલિતનાટમ, *Sarpa* IV-14
- (b) સ્વભાવિ લાલિતમપિ પામ, *Sarpa* V-5
- (c) વાદુ મારતે તારતે તદસંગતપરનાલિતમપિ રેણુમ, *Sarpa* V-9

Now, Mr K. H. Dhruba deliberately alters the texts in these, and thus erects on them his theory that Jayadeva resorts to the weak anuendra of the Prākrit idiom. Thus

In (a) he alters નયન to નયે. His apparent reason is that the adjective વિગાલિતનાટ cannot very well go with the compound નયન નાલિન. This is plausible, no doubt, but that is not enough justification for creating a new text, નયે, and further importing the Prākrit idiom of નયન when one can safely construe the phrase thus—

વિગાલિતનાટપિય નયનદિનમ,

62 એમો કવચિષુ પ્રાણતરે દયુસ્ત । (*Vdn-Bhushana*, I 8)

63 See Vol. I of these Lectures pp 470-471. In I-I-18 Pinel recognises the weak એ.

64 See pp. 16-17, and 21-22 of that Preface.

though strict syntactical psychology would require निरसितनां नहिन  
मिव नयन्, such laxity of syntax being permissible as an exceptional  
weak point.

In (b) Mr. Dhruva alters लितमिषाम into लितपाम, and then  
imagines that it should be लितै पाम to fit it into his theory of  
Prâkrit influence. In thus manipulating the text, he forgets that  
the rhythm is lost in his alteration.

In (c), I do not know why he alters ततुते to नतु से, but we are not  
concerned here with that. What is to the point is his arbitrary  
alteration of संगत into संगतै so that he may illustrate his pet theory  
of Prâkrit influence. In giving his reason for this change, he un-  
consciously refutes himself by perversion of emphasis in the ideas.  
He says ततुसंगत would look better as an adjective of देष्य rather than  
that of पवन, because the latter involves a roundabout connection and  
consequent exaggeration of ideas. In fact what he calls exaggeration  
is the very pith of the poet's idea. The grains of sand wasted by the  
breeze that has touched the body of Rîdhî are made much of by  
Krishna. The breeze vicariously invests the grains of sand with  
special and heightened association of value for her lover, Krishna.  
This apparently lengthened chain of contact is the value-enhancing  
feature, which does not bear the fault of exaggeration. To belittle  
the value of this idea and then create the weak *anuveda* and try to  
prove an *a priori* theory, savours of a perverted process of reasoning.

There are some other cases of liberty taken with the text, which  
are not connected with the weak *anuveda*, but which are manipulated  
in order to prove another Prâkritism. Here they are,

(d) रात्रसेमदृपरा इरिणा एवनिः प्रथंसे ॥ *Sarga I-19.*

(e) चरणकमलगद्दंडकसिंहमिदं तत दृपद्वारम् ॥ *Sarga VIII-5*

(f) मम रघिरे चिह्ने द्वार मानद मदतिमध्यनवामे ॥ *Sarga XII-22*

In (d) here, Mr. K. H. Dhruva wishes to read रात्रसे for रात्रे  
and on this amended reading he bases the Prâkritism of shortening  
the ए in the first श्व of the word on metrical grounds. As a reason  
for his change of reading he makes the statement that if रात्रसे were  
retained, the phrase करतस्याद्यारामद्यपादित्विद्वद्वन्द्वे would

be meaningless as an adjective of रस, which simply represents a mental attitude. This objection ignores the alternative of taking रासरस in the एश्वरिक sense of "a dance enjoyed heartily." True, रासरस does mean "a dance." But there is no need to take रस in its primary sense, when a एश्वरा can fit in the adjective रासल..... पैरो with the term रासरसे.

In (e) Mr K. H. Dhruva imagines that the अ of the ए in अलक has to be read as a short, and thus Jayadeva has resorted to a Prâkritism here, viz. shortening of a vowel made *guru* by a subsequent conjunct. In this view, he forgets that the quantitative value of the whole line suffers, as it would then yield 27 *mâtrâs* instead of 28, which is the total quantity for every one of the other lines. And in fact the rhythm of the line does not suffer by reading ए as a *guru*, it reads thus

सद्व दद्वल दद्व द्वाल गद्वल गद्वल दद्वल गद्वल  
दरण कद्वल गद्वल दद्वल सिद्वलिदे तव दद्वलुराम्

In (f) Mr K. H. Dhruva thinks that the short ए in ति of मनसिंज has to be lengthened and this is a Prâkritic license.

True, by reading मनसिंज with a short ए there is a deficiency of one *mâtrâ*, assuming a uniformity of rhythm all through. Nevertheless I find that without lengthening the ए of ति the apparent absence of one *mâtrâ* is condoned by a new rhythm—सद्वल गद्वल गद्वल— which makes for variety and consequent charm. मनसिंज द्वन्द्वामिर, besides, gives a very clumsy sound to the ear.

But we need not enter upon this defence of Jayadeva. For, in his very (combined) edition of *Gita Govinda* (with the Sanskrit *Gita Govinda* and his Gujarâti translation) Mr Dhruva gives the line with मानसरगद्वल instead of मनसिंगद्वल noisily read (or altered!) by him, and this—मानस—secures the uniform rhythm, so dear to his heart. The पदक between मानस and मानस would show the true reading, in view of Jayadeva's fondness for such jingling. Mr Dhruva himself is not unaware of this. For, in a foot note at p. 17 of his Preface noted above, he says, "If we follow Chaitanya-dâsa and read मानसर there is no need for doing this." [Doing what? Altering the text and then reading a fault in it!]

The upshot of the whole of the above scrutiny is that Jayadeva is needlessly, and wrongly, accused of violating the rules of Sanskrit prosody, and of adopting Prâkrt prosodial license for the sake of securing correct rhythm.

### (E) Foreign Prosody; its relation to Gujarâti Prosody.

I have already briefly hinted, in connection with the *Garâl* type of composition, at the influence of Persian prosody. This foreign influence may be considered here further as regards the suitability or otherwise of importation of foreign prosodial forms in Gujarâti. Let me hasten to say that such foreign importation is unsuited to the genius of Indian Prosody. The reason is obvious. (Persian and English metres are the object of this discussion).

Persian metres do not like Gujarâti (or Sanskrit and derived) metres depend on the quantity of syllables, but on crudo moulds which represent the aggregate value of groups of syllables. True, they speak of मिस्त्रान् and वस्त्र in this connection as determining the form of a metre. But that is different from the metro-determining factor in Gujarâti verse. I need not contrast this with Gujarâti forms I would refer you to Ramanabhâi Mahipatramâ's exhaustive and able discussion of this point in his essay on ઉન્દ અને પ્રાસ.<sup>65</sup> It may, however, be conceded that only some metrical forms in Persian coincide accidentally with our metres. Thus, the મુજાહી metre with its final syllable lopped off will agree with, say, the Persian form, found in lines like:—

કરીપા રિચધાએ વરદાલે મા

to the extent of aggregate quantity, not with 'every' મણ i. e. syllabic group; for the above line would scan thus—

દગાગા દગાગાદ દદગા દગા

whereas મુજાહી would be

દગાગા દગાગા દગાગા દગા [ ગા ].

65. *Karîd-ane-Sâhitya*, Vol. I, pp. 117-158.

## ENGLISH METRE

Gujarati metro differs still more in its essence from English metre. The reason is obvious. English metro, at least modern English metro, is based on the position of accent in words, whereas Gujarati metro depends for its form on quantity of syllables. Consequently any attempt to introduce English metro in our prosody is bound to be a ridiculous failure, as in the case of some attempts made at one time by Christian Missionaries. I need not cite instances, as this part of the discussion is merely incidental here. However, a brief inquiry into the principle of accent will be enlightening in this connection. In an interesting article,<sup>66</sup> J. D. Anderson, mentions three kinds of accent

- (1) Accent of force (i. e. stress)
- (2) Accent of acuity (i. e. pitch)
- and (3) Accent of duration (i. e. quantity)

These divisions are intelligent and intelligible, but in his further treatment Mr. J. D. Anderson mixes up these divisions, and word-accent and phrase-accent and *cæsura* are jumbled together in a hopelessly unintelligible manner. However, we are concerned with these main divisions, especially the contrast between (1) accent of force and (3) accent of duration. It is interesting to find that "the chief principle in ancient (European) verse was quantity, i. e. the amount of time involved in the effort to express a syllable. Accordingly, the two basal types which lie at the foundation of classical metre are "longs" and "shorts". The convention was that a long syllable was equal to two short ones .. ... ... The value of these feet (in ancient metre) was defined with exactitude, not left uncertain, as it is in modern European verse, where accent is almost always made the guiding principle. In Greek verse there might be an *ictus* (stress) which fell upon the long syllable, but it could only be a regulating element and accent was always a secondary element in the construction of Greek metre."<sup>67</sup>

66 "Accent and Prosody in Bengali etc." J. R. A. S. 1913, p. 857

67. Encyclopaedia Britannica, XIIth Edition, Vol. 27, p. 1042 d

This principle of quantity gave place later on to accent, and yet occasionally even in accent-ridden versification, quantity or a principle akin to it, peeps out occasionally. Let me quote once more

*"Modern Versification"*—The main distinction between classical and modern versification consists in the negligence shown by the length or shortness of the sound of syllables as determined by the time required to pronounce them. This dimension of sound was rigid in the case of Greek and Latin poetry until, in what is known as the middle Greek period, there came in a general tendency to relax the exact value of sounds and syllables and to introduce accent which is a measure of quality rather than quantity. A syllable in modern verse is heavy or light according as it receives stress from the voice or not. In the word "tulip" for instance, the syllables are of equal length, but the accent is strongly upon the first. It is mainly a question of force with us, not of time, as with the ancients. There is however an element of quantity in modern verse as there is of accent in ancient verse." Please mark this statement. "The foot in modern verse takes a less prominent place in itself than it did in Greece and is regarded more in relation to the whole line of which it makes a part. A mere combining of syllables is useless. In Milton's

"From haunted spring and dale,  
Edged with poplar pale,"

an ancient scholiast would have found it impossible to discover any harmony, for he would have had no means of measuring the value of the heavy accent on "edged" followed by a pause, and would have demanded another syllable in the second line to turn the whole into verse.<sup>68</sup>

These views are echoed in a short compass by the compiler of the Century Dictionary under *Mora* and *Time*. "Mora (plur. Moras) — (L. *delay*) In ancient prosody the unit of time equivalent to the ordinary or normal short, the *schemon* or *primary time*."

68 Encyclopaedia Britannica, XIth Edition, Vol. 27, pp. 1044d and 1045a.

It will be seen that *more* exactly corresponds to our *mátrid*.  
Under *Time* we find *more* light:

"(In pros.) Relative duration of utterance as measuring composition, a unit of rhythmic measurement, or a group or succession of such units.

"In modern or accentual poetry the relative time of utterance of successive syllables is not recognised metrically. Every syllable may be considered as quantitatively common or indifferent in time, the only difference taken into account being that of stress or accent (*ictus*) and the number of syllables alone introducing the idea of measurement. In ancient prosody a unit of time is assumed (varying in actual duration according to the tempo), called the primary or least (minimum) time, also *semion*, *more*, or specifically, a time"

Thus is the relative position of quantity and quality in Western prosody. Exceptionally, quantity makes occasional syllies into the realm of qualitative poetry, a fact noticed incidentally above in the second extract from the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. I may illustrate this—

"Where the sunset seems to fire the tall pine-trees as they sway"

x                    x                    τ                    x                    x

"( *The Water-Nymphs*, ' by Mrs. Silvay in "Far and West". November 1918, page 1251 )

In this line the syllable "tall" is to be lengthened so as to cover the time taken up by two syllables, "talling" would be equal to "tall" here in time-measure. This trick, most probably an unintentional stroke of inspiration, symbolizes the sense of tallness of the pine-trees by the double time, covered by the single syllable, tall."

I give one instance more—

"Nay, keep thy pearls,

I ne'er none, for Love a pearl once more is mine"

("The Pearl Tree" by R. C. Trevelyan. Last scene, last lines).

Here the scarcer I—

"I' need none', for Love's' pearl' once more' is mine'." The foot "Love's pearl" requires a quantity equal to, say, "true Love's pearl", but the increase of quality in "Love's pearl" is intended to suit the sense and so we have to read the two syllables as three, dwelling on "Love's" long enough to cover two *metre*.

However, this principle of *mātrā*, *per se* is not recognised in English versification

This being the radical difference between our prosody and English prosody all attempts made by some modern Gujarati poets to introduce blank verse into Gujarati poetry, must, and do, end in virtual failure, so also do the attempts at adopting English moulds like the sonnet. They betray an ignorance of the essential difference noted above and of the true structure of blank verse and the sonnet.

My object in entering into this question of Gujarati Prosody is to present its picture in its true perspective and orientation so that in view of its history and evolution, we can at once see that whatever innovations individual poets may bring out must be in harmony with the traditional, growth and genius of Gujarati versification, and any unnatural breaking with them is bound to result in incongruities and absurdities which the critical ear of experts must resent. I hope I have succeeded in accomplishing this object within the limits of an incidental discussion.

I shall now pass on to my next and last lecture dealing with the whole range of my subject retrospectively and the present and future of our language and literature.



## APPENDIX A.

### SO CALLED GARABI ATTRIBUTED TO NARASINHA MEHTA.

~~~~~  
( see p. 279 *supra*)

वह तुहने वाहं रे जारंग माँ जल भरवा ॥  
नंदहुंभर माँपदीभा साखे रहे रहेती गोड करवा ॥  
ए छे काळो तुं छे गोरी घटभर एहने न मलिए रे ।  
मनसा धाघा कहुंहुं तुहने माणसमांपी ठरीए ॥ वह० ॥  
ए छे काहानदो कामणगारो कां० एक कामण करवे रे ॥  
गेहेली पारंग पृथड जर्दंग चीराई से ताढ़के हरवे रे ॥ वह० ॥  
घटभर कदे साहजी भलेल दुं शिहने तिराँ जारं रे  
मरसेभाघा स्त्रावी तरसी दुं निरटज नहीं पारं रे ॥ वहुभर ॥

(These lines were copied from a manuscript (of loose leaves) in the possession of Mr. Navarmalil I. Desai of the "Gujarati Press")

~~~~~

## SUPPLEMENT

### LECTURE V (Section I)

P. 5 After 1 3 Add -

In the *vritti* of VIII-iv-425 Hemachandra says केहि etc. should be employed (प्रयोक्तैः) to express तादृश्यं If Apabhramsa had been a living language in Hemachandra's time he would have said प्रयुक्त्यन्ते

P. 161 4 add -हेज (for हेत) in his translation of *Gita-Govinda*

P. 33, at the end of para 2 under (b) add प्राति is used in Gujarati in the sense of पूर्व (पूर्विका) e.g. हिनामा ऊळी प्राति नपी (or पूर्वी नपी). This would incidentally support the derivation of पूर्वी from प्राप्

P. 55 After reason (b) in the middle, add आये तो ए, आये ज ए, forms like these, by the position of तो and ज being wedged in between the verb and ए may be cited against my view, for, terminations like ये (future) will not admit of such wedging in. My answer to this is

True, such wedging in militates against ए being a complete termination, but in view of the fact that the psychological position of ए favours the termination theory, the exceptional feature of the wedged in expletives must be regarded as due to a reminiscence of the original state of ए as an independent verb.

P. 59 n At the end add

Mr Keshav Lal H. Dhruva (notes on *Bhāskara's Kādambarī Purvālhāga*, p. 207 and p. 213) says that this ने is for अपेक्षी स्पष्टता (making the sense clear) and is derived from Pr. ने (अपेक्षारणाप्य) found in S: He, VIII-ii-184 I do not agree with that view. Just see this in Bhāskara's *Kādambarī, Purva Bhāg*, p. 12, l. 17

वौदुप युर तु सामङ्गुर्वी यद्यु जनि सावपान्

यद्यु भनि here furnishes a conclusive answer to K. H. Dhruva's

theory. Compare also जोरु कष्ट तमारे ने अनुनादि करे काय. (Vallabha, Kuntiprasannākhyāna, st. 74) where the dissociated ने is partially significant.

P. 72. On G. कर्ये जाय नहि in para last but one, put as foot-note:

This is as old as *Apabhṛṣṭa*; see Si. IIc. VIII-iv-350, illustration अक्षयणः न जाइ where अक्षयणः is not quite the past participial form, but न जाइ is the form in point.

See also VIII-iv 441 instance, मुंप्रणहि न जाइ (मोक्षतुं न याति).

P. 74. After instance (7) add:—

(8) ते तेही पूछया एताणि (Kinnarañade-Prabandha, II-11)

P. 93. After (1) add:

*Dayāñāma.*

(f)-1 ऐंगि दृतिव दैत्यशा लाया रे.

(*Garbhi ane pada Sangraha; pada, 75, st. 2*).

*Dhīro*—

(f)-2 कोरा घटशी लाया रही (Stanipo, *Gumisvarūpa*, XII-2)

(f)-3 रता हारी जनकशा भूप (Ibid, *Miyād-Svarūpa*, XXIX-2)

(f)-4 रता रामशा रोई (Ibid-3)

(f)-5 दुर्पेर भंडारीदो करीदे तेने

(Ibid, *Trishnād-Svarūpa* XXIV-3)

*Vallabha* (f)-6 रिंग गत्तो स्वामी नामी कपूरशो

(*Kurli-prasannākhyāna*, st. 59)

P. 98

After (e) add:

(f) अमपर लासु नणदरी लाढ।

नरतेयापा स्वामी न करो भाड॥

(From a MS. in the possession of Mr. Naṣavaralal I. Desai of the Gujarati Press).

P. 100 After 1. 5 add:

गिराव देयके पाटप गतो

(*Hitarūpa Sūti, Edes: Bhāṣāmī, VI-1*)

Also જોખણ ટાટારિ રેણાં (Vimala-prabandha, 1-26)

(એ is found as a genitive termination only in *Kāñhadade-Prabandha*, in three places:

આણાં એ હંદરલા તીર (III-147)

કારી હંદરલા તીર (III-231)

(IV-29 has હંદર નામ તલારૂ which shows that એ is a termination).

જોડ જિણાલાં ઠામ વિણાટ (IV-23)

P. 102. After (b) add

(b)-1 પાસાદદુ ગુર્જ છિં (Ibid, II-137)

P. 107. At the end of the page, add footnote on "comparison" in line 3 from the bottom; as under:—

Contrast the use of સરણુ (=in close touch 'with') o. g. ટાતી સરણુ. ભાઈ સરણી પાણી ભાય. (Vimala-prabandha, II-4) where સરણી=સાંય with, સરણુ is from સાદગ. In the case of પાણુ (પાણ) juxtaposition leads to the idea of comparison, whereas in the case of સરણુ the idea of comparison leads to the idea of juxtaposition or vicinity.

P. 112. After (m) add:

(n) હું ભાવિં તદ કાદિવા ભણી

(Vimala-prabandha, II-47)

P. 115. After (g) add:

(g)-1. ન કો ભંગાખ જમલુ રાદ (Ibid, I-24)

(g)-2. તાદરિ જમલિ (Ibid, I-147)

(g)-3. મુરતિ પાંચ એક લિંગધી

છઠી તાસ જમલી કો ન ધી (Ibid-252)

In (g)-2 મજલિ may mean "equal", in (g)-3 જમલી certainly means "equal".

P. 117. end of para 2. add:

The instance (g)-3 given just above (supplement on p. 115) is the one in point.

P. 128 n 98, After (c) add

(d) एक यादुं शूष्मा मानिये हे, के उत के ग्रासाद

(*Hiravayasa-Risa*), p. 97, et 129)

*Kinhadade-Pralandha* shows this idiom, of course using कृ for the modern हे.

(1) कहू सोनगिर धूलदू प्राणि, कहू अद्य आप्य नातु (II-77)

(2) ऐर भेटि कहू मिटा आये, कहू उर्द्धारप वाले

कहू ताहरूं भट्टण जाणीसिइ पर आप्यन्तु राखे. (I-116)

P. 136 Before the Note in the last line add

(h) माउरहू पेटि परसीनहू

(*Bhavata-dhūtrinīśī* cited by Dr. Hertel), p. 41, last line)

here is the genitive termination रूपहू (loc. of क).

Dr. Hertel has misunderstood this मातु पेटी (=युग्मी) प्रविश्यते in the sense, he has rendered it thus मा (=मातु) बहू (=in the chest (वर), पेटि (=in the stomach), पहू (=in the foot), and सिनहू (=is accomplished)

P. 137 After (o) add

(o) 1

कहि रे इपामा शार भली नयणि भरि छि नीर

(Ibid, p. 40, 1-16)

## LECTURE V (Section II)

P. 144 After (3) under (a) add

Note In *Hanschan-trūthyāna* attributed to Premānanda we find भा ending for भ even in the nonunstressed singular एह प्राप्यदाना एह शाता *Kadar* 27, et 4

P. 153 After (g) add

(g)-1 सापतणे वहिराम्यो जे (Ibid, LXVII-46)

(g)-2 સત્રી સુગલ મણિક તણે સમસાધિયા રે  
(*Ibid*, XXVIII-21)

(2)-3 હીરતણે ઇમ ભાલે સોય (Ibid, XXIX-4)

(g)-4 અનાથ તણે નવિ ઇણવો (Ibid, p. 89, st. 31)

A significant light is thrown by the use of કે (dative) similarly, e. g.-

પાદશાહકે જાડ માર્યો ગાલ

(*Hiravijaya-Râsa*, XXVII-12)

P. 178. In the instances under class (a) add

After જારું મારું add ડાઠમાઠ;

After નરું સરું add વધું સધ્યું; સ્થેજ સાર્જ;

સરું સાગરું; ( સર્ગાં સાગરાં રે

(*Harischandrâkhyâna*, XXII-21)

(in *Prâchîna Kâvya Mâlâ*)

After વાતચીત add

ગોઢમટોઢ;

(મટોઢ may be traced to વર્તુલ (Slr) Cf. M. વાટોઢે),

બની ઠની; ડઘાડો પુપાડો; જોઢી પોઢી । ( જોઢી પોઢી પીપઢ પાન ।

ફોઇએ પાડદું મંગાક નામ ॥ formula used by ladies when naming a child on the 12th day ) અદ્યું પદ્યું; હુંચો પૂંચો; બોંચો નોંચો; અંધા ખુંધી;

ખુંધી may be traced to ખ્વાન્ત (Slr), ફેરફાર.

Under Class (b) add

અદળ બદળ; અદલા બદળી; અટાપટા; ટાપટીપ; સરસામાન; કરકસાર.

Under (c) add.

ખૂલ્ય ધાણી; રૂપિયો રોદો, પરચાર; ફાટફૂટ; રાંધરું શીંઘરું.

[ Note ] In ધામધૂમ; સમસામ, ધૂવા રૂવા both the members are apparently meaningless, "apparently" because ધૂવા can be traced to ધૂમ, સમ to સૌન્ધ્ય, and ધામ to ધાર् to run. ]

P. 180, Before the para on Spelling Reform insert the following

[ Note. Of a different type is the idiom which duplicates words (as in Skr. द्विरुच Chapter) The traditional significance of द्विरुच is वीरसा which covers in Gujarati, a number of senses, e.g. पेर पेर (=in every house), and this sense evolves other significations, e.g. intensity, as in चोर पोर जेरदा आए पर्याँ, दाप दाप उहुच्चो and the like. I do not mean forms like सप सपीने where the first member changes from सपी to सप, or आर आरु type where the first member, आरु drops its रु suffix. These are a proper subject for a grammatical treatise. But there is one sense which is peculiar to Gujarati, it is the sense of fictions or imaginary assumption, e.g. घोदा घोदा रमिये, निघाड निशाढ रमिये (cf. English-playing horses, tigers, etc.) ]

P 183 After 1 4 add (5) विदिष्या उपना एन

(Bhalana-Kadambari, I p. 116, I 17)

(6) उजाग अंबरथो आपे (Akho Anubhaa bin lu,-St 7)

(7) क्यांथो क्यांये जाय (Ibid 17)

P 183 Before III, after (6) under II add

(6) कद जीपै उत्ताण कि कद रण जीपै मालदे.

(IV-167)

P 186 IV After 5 lines odd ज्यगाने बोलायो, न्हागाने पाणी आयो etc, there are distinguishable because of the infinitive form, the underlying basis is, however, similar, meaning मे मोटे.

IV. After अहुंत सुगायने गया add शके ते न विदिने आया

(Nalakhyna, LXII-9)

देटी दमर्दी थीर गुंपाया, स्वयंपरने रातरी याया.

(Ibid, LXI 2)

## LECTURE VI.

P. 215 n 44 Add माझम राते थीनलडी चमके is a version found in a piece almost similar to the above (with the name of Mirābāi in the last line) in a modern play entitled *Rājā Sambhaji*

P 252 Ratnēśvara Add, his being a pupil of Premānanda has been called into question. It is, however, an open question yet.

P 257 After the paragraph ending "its sublimity does not suffer thereby" add

(Note This traditional conception is seen reflected down in later times, see *Dayārāma*

प्रतिरोप जे महापुरुष धज, धन्नाण्ड कोटि अनंत.

(*Rasika Vallabha*, XII, 4)

Page 274 On the sentence—"the poetry of Akho is not as easy to understand as he imagines"—add the following foot note

Akho has पडे नहि जे पृथ्वी उचे, कने नहि ते कहो यु चुवे? Rev Mr Scott has rendered this apparently by quoting from Bunyan's "Song of the Shepherd Boy in the Valley of Humiliation" the lines. "He that is down need fear no fall He that is low no pride". But even as a case of correspondence the latter part fails to be a true reflection. Hence my comment

Page 279. n. 57, As regards लो add

I find this लो in *Asoka-Rohini-Rāsa* (V S 1772) *dhāta* No 2 This can hardly prove that it existed in Narsinha Mehta's time three centuries before this *Rāsa*. Nay, it would go against Mr Chhagankal's view

## LECTURE VII.

### *The Future Tendency of Gujarāti Language and Literature.*

---

We have attempted till now a laborious journey through the tangled forest of the past, cast a hurried glance at the present, and let us venture now to peep into the future, so far as it is granted to human intellect and imagination to do. I propose in this, the last of the series of my Lectures, to do this. No one can see the future in a distinct and full-shaped state, all that is possible is to have a glimpse of it in the light of the past and the present and note which way the stream of things tends to flow. It is this future tendency of Gujarati Language and Literature that I wish to examine in this lecture. To enable us to fulfil this undertaking properly it will be necessary and useful to cast a quick glance at what we have considered in the last six Lectures.

At the outset we discussed the influences affecting the Evolution of Language. We noted that language was a subtle subject eluding the careful investigator, *A rapid retrospect of the last six lectures.* that the position of the investigator of language was similar to that of an investigator of the

physical and other sciences. He has to test, reject, accept, generalize, he is guided by the light of reason, and occasionally by the flash of inspiration. We marked that the influences working on language were extrinsic and intrinsic, the former consisting of historical forces as moulding the life of the people, life being but expressed and symbolized in language, and also consisting of geographical conditions, while the latter comprise phonetic forces. In considering historical forces affecting Gujarati we specially noticed the similarity between Greece and India in the matter of foreign influence. We passed in rapid survey the various races that came into contact with Gujarat,—the Mauryas, the Greeks, the Traukas, the Abhiras, the Valabhus, the Rashtrakutas, the Maitrakas, the Chavadas, and the Gurjars as

represented by the Solankis, i. e. the Chaulukyas, then the Māns and lastly the Marāthās. We compared the influence of the early i. e. pre Mahomedan foreigners, with that of the Mussalmāns and saw that the early foreigners were absorbed in the local population and thus their influence on the language affected the intrinsic genius of it, whereas the Mussalmāns, in spite of occasional racial unions and religious conversions, remained detached from the people, and their original language Persian-affected but the externals of the Gujarātī language, in the shape of an inflow of Persian and Arabic words, which words, we noticed, passed through the operation of the same phonetic forces which governed the mutation of words in their transit from Sanskrit and Prakrit into Gujarātī, thus the विष्वत् ए and ओ sounds mark the words derived from Persian and Arabic as much as those coming from Prakrit, the formation of the ओ and औ endings of noun-stems in the case of words coming from Persian and Arabic was, in a way, similar to that of words coming from Sanskrit and Prakrit, the only difference being that the ए termination was not responsible in the former case as in the latter. In contrast with the Mussalmān contact we observed the effects of the Marāthā connection with Gujarātī and explained the limited influence exercised by it-hy the absenteeism of the Marāthā rulers and their army, their face being turned more towards the centre in the Deccan than towards the circumference in Gujarāt. Finally, we cast a casual glance at the infusion of Portuguese words into our language which was not to be neglected, limited though it was in nature and volume. We also noticed how the geographical conditions of Gujarāt affected the language, both in its vocabulary and its physical constitution.

In examining the most important one out of the three kinds of influences,—viz. the Phonetic Forces we first established the general principles that should guide us in our inquiry these were—

(1) Historical consistency.

In applying this principle we saw the incorrectness of derivations like ताम्रकूट for तमाकू.

(2) Rejection of mere external similarity.

- 7 Under this principle we rejected as incorrect the derivation of अपीण from अद्वितीय, of सुपर्यो from सु+पार्यो (instead of the correct derivation from शुप्त्=to purify, to clear), of विनति from विनति (instead of the correct derivation from रित्तिस्ति-पिण्णति), and the like
- (3) The avoiding of artificiality of derivation. Under this we instance विपश्च and दम्पति, the former being wrongly analyzed into वि+पश्च and the latter into दम् as a transformation of जाया+पति, when we have the Vedic दम्='a house' to account for the word fittingly
- (4) धीजलापन, i. e. brevity of principle as preferable to धम्लापन, i. e. brevity of steps

A prominent instance out of several under this principle was examined by us viz. नदाति derived from नद्यात्. We saw that this single Sanskrit word through its two alternative Apabhramsa forms उण्डड and सण्डड gave us the final evolutes in as many as five languages, viz. नदात्यु (G), उदान (M), सण्डो (Sindhi), सण्ण (Kanarese), and साण (Konkani).

We also saw that धम्लापन in the false derivation of वार्णुं (वार्ण्युं) from वार्ण्यक् which no doubt requires only one step, viz. the change of ण् to ण, was the wrong principle, whereas the Sanskrit द्वार which gives दार to Marathi and वार and वार्णु (through वार+ङ् changed to ण्) to Gujarati follows धीजलापन as the correct guide.

- (5) Historical order—Under this we saw the desirability and necessity of recognizing the Prakrits as an intermediate step between Sanskrit and the present vernaculars. Thus रत्न्, प्रगट् &c. were seen to be proper words in preference to स्पन्, प्रपट्, and other needlessly pedantic forms. We also saw the correctness of deriving words like शाम् शाप् &c. through the Prakrit steps शम्म, शम् &c., and not direct from शम्, शप् &c.
- (6) Actual use in language.

This principle guided us in accepting રચિદાટક as the original of અગ્રીં (Guj.),—it being actually used in Manusmriti,—in preference to રત્નાટક which is not found in use in Sanskrit in that sense.

### Lastly—(7) Conditions sufficient for generalization.

In considering this principle we distinguished between the demands of physical sciences—which required, *as a rule*, a very large number of particular cases to deduce a general rule from them, and the limitations of philology which could not always strictly follow that principle, very often a few instances, and some times a single instance, being enough for marking a phonetic operation. The only side test will be the support obtainable from other permanent principles and degrees of probability, the general principle being that paucity of particular instances should, *as a rule*, be regarded as a reason for caution.

In the light of this principle, we saw that the derivation of અવનતુ (Guj.) from અભિનવન (Sanskrit) through a transitional change of ભ to એ was to be accepted, although this was a single instance of ભ changed to એ, because this change is rendered probable by the phonetic affinity between વ and ભ, the splitting up of ભ into વ and એ, and the aspiration of the stronger member in a mixed aexus by the aspirate એ, and the reverse process was seen in જીમ (Guj.) from જીમણ (Sanskrit). The direct relation of ભ to એ was also seen in the remarkable correspondence between (Skr.) ઉદ્ધ to “desire” and English “love”—(Lat. *libet* = it pleases).

We next noticed the general principles which govern phonetic change:—

viz. (a) phonetic decay,

(b) false analogy,

(c) simplification,

and (d) economy of effort

We marked two kinds of phonetic decay (1) natural and (2) artificial, and we saw, as causes of natural phonetic decay, four main factors:—

(1) અણાન, (2) વેગ, (3) અન્યાસ, and (4) જિદ્ધાદોર

In considering this set of principles we observed that, while on the one hand the partially aspirated consonants in દ્રુત, પ્રદુત, દ્રીણ etc., the broad (ફિરુત) sounds of એ and ઓ in the મ્લા and ક્ષિટ types, and other features in Gujarati do not represent artificial phonetic changes, as they can be brought under fixed philological laws, reading ક-દે-દે with a strong દે or દે દે without a દે, on the other hand are really artificial pronunciations.

Under જિદ્ધાદોર we noticed the defective pronunciation of the cerebrals as dentals, and the pronunciation of the મૂર્ખયતર ઇ and ઇ as ર (r) and ર્ઝ (rh) by Western races, the interchange of ન and ણ by some Hindus and other classes, and the defective vocality of the class represented by the Parsi who had to ask whether he should write દોસામાંનો દરો or દોસામાંનો દરો (really દોસામાંનો દરો).

Instances of *False Analogy* are given by Dr. Bhāndārkar in his Philological Lectures, under simplification, we noticed the case of અચ્છદા a form not sanctioned by Vararuchi, who confines it to the forms of the first and second persons and gives અચ્છિ for the third person singular, but which came into currency later on to secure uniformity with અચ્છસિ, અચ્છામિ &c.

*Economy of Effort* was seen by us to underlie the change of એ and ઓ in Sanskrit to short એ and ઓ in Pali, and the assimilation of dissimilar consonants forming conjuncts (e. g. ની to એ, એ to એણ, એ to એણ etc.)

We then went at length into the specific phonetic principles working in the evolution of Gujarati. We saw at once that were peculiar to Gujarati alone, e. g. (a) the change of અય, અય (and એય, એય) through અય, અય by પ્રતિસપ્તાસા (into the ફિરુત એ and ઓ, which we compared and contrasted with the Pali short એ and ઓ (where the element of broad sound was very latent), and with the Bangali eound of એ as અ, which, however, is slightly and peculiarly different from the ફિરુત sound in Gujarati, (b) the ઓ and એ endings of noun-stems, as contrasted with the એ ending in the same original words (e. g. હાપે, હાય, હણો, એ, પાં, પાં, એણ, એ) being dependent on

the attachment of the termination ક to preserve the final vowel from corrosion in consequence of loss or shifting of accent, and (c) the change of a non-final ઇ or ઉ to એ

Then we examined one important *utsarga*, shared partially with Hindî, viz the position of ઇસાર in Gujarâti words in three forms —

(1) Shifting of the ઇ towards the beginning of a word,

(2) interpolation of an extraneous ઇ,

and (3) the loss of an existing ઇ,

as in (1) ભગિની-વહિણી-ન્હન,

ગમીરકં—ગદીરં—ધેરં;

શણકં—ઉણુરં—દુરં;

and in (2) પ્રાસંકે—પત્તં—એચિં (through Ap. પહુંચ્યુ)

પાશક.—પાસર—પાંસો),

અણાદિ—અજાદિ—દ્વારી,

and in (3) ચિન્દ—ધેણ્દ—ચર્દં;

વિન્દલકં—વિન્દલં—ધીંદં;

એપિકા—એદિઆ—જૂર્દુ;

શૃંદા—સસલા—સાંકલ.

In this connection we saw that ઇ existed either as a ચંકર (as in ધેરં, દુરં etc.) or as a સમૃદ્ધિ (as in ન્હેન etc.)

We also noticed a solitary instance of the reverse process of the change of a ઇ to a class aspirate in શુફા from (Skr.) શુદ્ધા, and in that connection we considered the theory that ઇ as a pure aspirate did not exist in pre-Vedic and to some extent in Vedic times, that it was evolved out of the class aspirate at a later stage, as evidenced by the root શુપ corresponding to classical Sanskrit શુદ્ધ, and the latent factors like દુષ, લિદ, નષ etc. in forms like દુષા, લિદા, નષા &c. pointing to old obsolete roots દુષ, લિદ, નષ &c. as unknown predecessors of શુદ્ધ, લિદુ, નષ &c. of classical and even Vedic Sanskrit.

Finally we looked into some *utsargas* shared by Gujarâti jointly with some other vernaculars, e. g.

(a) The softened nasal (कोमळ भास्त्वारा) which we traced from *Apabhramsa*, where it first sprung into being, as in वैद्य, वैद्य, दैदि, तैदि, जैदि, तुच्छरै, तेणह, &c., while its further development was seen in the प्रारंभिक and similar sets of words with a strong nasal in Prakrit and Apabhramsa softening the nasal and lengthening the preceding vowels on the principle of balancing of quantity, as in पञ्चकं-यंकरै-वायुं-सन्दृशा-संस्था साम &c.

We noted that the *anusvāra* of a long vowel in *tadbhava* words was कोमळ, e.g. in वाडो, वौडो, वृंदां, वैरां, सौंपां, &c.; that at the end of a *tadbhava* word the *anusvāra* was कोमळतर as in दैदि, भैदि etc.; that after a short vowel inside a word it was कोमळतर, e.g. झुरारो, झुप्पल, &c., and that after a final त in *tadbhava* words (being a mark of the neuter gender or of the first person singular present tense of verbs) it was कोमळतम, e.g. दृं, साट, पाढु, भायुं, भायुं, &c.

As regards the कोमळतम *anusvāra* after a final त in *tadbhava* words we observed that it is strongish in Surat and Broach districts and Kāthiāvāda, it is middling strong, or weak, in Ahmedabad district and round about, and weakest almost to a vanishing point, in Chhotaon. We compared this with a similar treatment of this *anusvāra* in Marathi, the Kokana sounding it strongish and the Desa weak.

(b) The Prakrit or sibilant sound of च, ट, ज, घ, which we find everywhere in Gujarat, under certain definable rules, except in Surat and Broach where it is always a Sanskrit sound

We noted its presence in Marathi (which has it a little more marked than in Gujarati), in Marwādi (which has it extra strong), in Panjabī (which has it in a limited way) as also in Bangāl, in Kāshmīrī (the principal one amongst the Pāsīchī vernaculars) and in Bhutia, we perceived the influence of this sibilant sound in the change of घ to ट as also in Burmese (e.g. ဆန် the moon for चन्दा), and in Sinhalese (as in ප්‍රසාද for चन्द्राद). We gathered from this state of things that while, as Mr. Beames believes, Dravidian influence accounts for this sibilant sound in Marathi, its presence in Gujarati and other vernaculars in the North was traceable to Mongol

influence, Kāshmīri, Bhutia, Bangāli, and Burmese obviously being thus affected, while the languages influenced by the Gurjaras owe the sound to the Mongol trace in the Gurjaras, the old time Khazars,—who, though of a different stock from the Huns, were in close contact with them, the Huns as their physical appearance described by Gibbon shows, being distinctly Mongol in type.

(c) the मूर्खन्यतर sound of L—i.e. व

We traced the course of this in Vedic phonology, of course in a very restricted manner, in Pāli, and in the present day Bhil language of Marutha—a tribe in Kājpalā territory, the व in these languages being an evolute of an intervocalic र (मूर्खन्यतर of course), then in Gujarātī, Marāthī, Māravādī, and Pañcālī (among the old Prākrits), the व in these languages being an evolute of an intervocalic र, and we perceived a Pañcālī influence in the case of this व in our present day vernaculars, and possibly in the Vedic speech.

(d) अस्वरितप्रथमशुतिलोप (Apheresis and Aphesis)

The dropping of an unaccented initial syllable,

e. g.

उपविशति—..... उप— विशति  
 उपाद्याय—उपाद्याय— ओप्राप्ति  
 अपत्यक्त—अपत्यक्त— अप्त्यक्त  
 सद्यक्त—सद्यक्त— द्यक्त

(as in એણ રોધો દાંત થું કાઢેણ ? )

This principle is shared by Gujarātī in common with several languages, Hindi in particular. It can be traced back to Prakrit which has only two instances (भरण and अलाङ् changed to रण and लाङ्), and (possibly in a latent form) Sanskrit also which has पूष and अपूष meaning a particular kind of cake, the former being a later form resulting from the loss of the unaccented initial in the latter.

(e) Lastly, we dwelt on the *utsarga* about संयोगलोप and पूर्व स्वरदीवेत्त्व—the simplification of a conjunct accompanied by the lengthening of the preceding vowel.—

o. g. वर्म—कर्म—काम  
 सर्व—सर्व—साप  
 द्वार्ष—दिव्व—दीद  
 मुष्ट—मुष्टे मूर्ष्ट  
 &c., &c. &c.

This principle, we saw, was as old as Hemachandra's Grammar where दाहिण given as a ready made *ādēśa* of दीप्तिण can really be accounted for by the following changes through which the word must have passed, imperceptibly and potentially, viz

दिविण—दायिण—दाहिण.

We went further back as far as Pāṇini and saw the principle lying latent in his *sūtra*—

द्वृपेष्य वर्त्स्य दीप्तोऽण.

(VI-iii).

(read with दोदोप VIII-iii-13 and दोरि VIII-iii-14), whereby we note द्वृ+प (त) = दु+प = दु &c., and दीर्प+त्य = दीर्प.

This *utsarga* has been of great use to us in our present inquiry as amongst several tests for fixing the relative progress and periods of Gujarati language and literature this was the most important and almost invariably unfailing and conclusive test.

We then surveyed historically the evolution of Gujarati language, and, applying the tests of (1) distinctive features discovered in the phonetic survey just described, (2) the analytical or synthetical stages through which the language seemed to pass, and (3) special words like राम, रेति etc. peculiar to particular periods, we watched the shading off of the language from one period into another, noting these periods as under—

### Pre-Gujarati

Apabhramsa upto 1100 V. S. or thereabouts,

Middle Apabhramsa upto V. S. 13th century,

अन्तिम i. e. later Apabhramsa V. S. 13th Century to V. S. 1750.

## Gujarātī

Early Gujarātī	V S 1550 to V S 1650,
Middle Gujarātī	V. S 1650 to V S 1750,
Modern Gujarātī	V S 1750 and after

I specially emphasized the fact that this division into periods did not imply water-tight partitions. In the very nature of things, language must be like a vast canvas in which the colors gradually shade off from one part to another.

Finally, we took a hard's eye view of the literature of Gujarat, from the time of Narasinha and Mirā down to Dayārāma who died only 64 years ago, exactly 64 years ago, almost to a day from today, he having breathed his last on the 9th of February 1853. I drew your attention to the fact that, although the name, Gujarātā, was found in Al Beruni's *Indica* (A D 1030), it referred—not to our present day Gujarat, but—to a province in Rajputānā, that the name Gujerata as applied to our province did not find place in our literature long before the 15th century A D, and that the name Gujarātī for the language of this province is not met with much earlier than 1730 A. D. I also accentuated distinctively the fact that, although Narasinha and Mirā did not begin the Gujarātī language, they may be accepted as having begun Gujarātī literature. We therefore began our literary survey with these two poets. Our survey covered four periods

- (1) From Mirā and Narasinha upto Nakara, i e 15th century of the Vikrama era to the middle of the 17th century,
- (2) The literary blank supposed to have existed between Padmanabha and Akho, which, as recent research has shown, was not a blank, poets like Karmana, Kefava, Bhālana Bhīma, Lavanyasamaya, Ganapati and others flourished during the period, thus we have this second period,
- (3) The period of Akho, Tulasi, Viśvanātha Jānti, Premānanda and Samala V S 1670 to V S 1820

and (4) Vallabha and others, other minor poets, Jain poets, poets of the *Svāminārāyaṇa* sect, endlog with the graceful, elegant, and brilliant poet Dayārāma V. S 1828 to V. S 1900.

In closing this survey we cast a glance at the atmosphere which at different periods pervaded the course of literature, noticing the predominance of the sombre colors of *Bhakti* and *Vairāgya*, an occasional glint of heroic subjects, the rainbow tints of love-literature, and a very small tinge of the social conditions and problems which obsess us now.

We cast a hasty glance at Modern Gujarati Literature and presented a vindication of modern poetry in view of some unjust adverse criticism.

Side by side we noticed the evolution of prosody in Gujarati literature, its evolution in a way being a reflection of the evolution of literature upto now.

We may, by way of supplement and to secure completeness, cursorily view here our modern literature subsequent to Dayārāma's periods. This we may divide into two epochs.

*A cursory view of Modern Literature.*

- (a) Old type literature—from V. S. 1900 to V. S. 1940, i. e. the first four decades of the twentieth century of the Vikrami era,
- and (b) New type literature—from V. S. 1940 to V. S. 1970, i. e. the three recent decades of that century

Both these types were the outcome of the contact of the East with the West, but while the Western influence in the case of the earlier period was partial and superficial, and thus the literature of the period still adhered to the old world traditions, that in the case of the later period was far-reaching and affected the outlook on life, society, and the world in a thorough manner, thus the literature of this period is instinct with a new life, new ideals and new modes

of outlook. Some outstanding features of the two epochs may be contrasted. The earlier epoch inaugurated prose literature, its language was simple and direct, its mode of spelling was natural and more or less true to the mode of pronunciation, an attempt to introduce a Sanskritized style was made in the latter part of the period, but it did not find many followers whereas the latter epoch indulged more wildly in poetry, introduced a style somewhat above the heads of the common people, discarded the natam system of spelling which was phonetically and philologically nearer the truth, and adopted a purely arbitrary, artificial and unphonetic system of spelling and in style of language the element of Sanskrit was introduced not as in the early period, but necessitated by the nature of the subject and the force of ideas and ideals. This much for the language and style. As regards subject matter and nature of literature, the contrast between the two periods is equally marked. The older period responded to the call of its generation, wrote in a more or less homely style on subjects affecting the intellectual awakening of the people, attempting to remove superstitions among the masses, instructing in the rudiments of knowledge, and never aspiring to soar high in imagination or intellectual efforts. The later period was touched by the fire of Western poetry and the classical Sanskrit literature, and as a result works of imagination and fancy of a high order of merit and originality sprung into life to enrich our literature, while side by side with it a mass of inferior copyists' work swarmed in the field to the detriment of the authors and the literature they aspired to belong to. It must be recognized that new ideals, new life, new activities have come as forces and they must as they do, affect our literature, according to the lights and limitations of the workers in the field, the inferior and transitory staff, no doubt, predominating, but not dominating our literature all the same.

Such is the picture of the past and the present. Shall we venture to prophesy the future? These pictures

*A forecast of the future of our language and literature* though drawn at some length, were necessary to be kept in view before us if a fairly correct forecast was to be made of the future. This can

be done only by noting the future tendencies visible in our times and this we may attempt to do as proposed for this lecture. The question that rises before us is—Will the past be reproduced or continued in any form or to any extent? The answer must be in the negative. As regards literature, the old order has changed giving place to new, and it is inherently impossible that events can march backwards. The very nature of progress is against it. New environments must create new types, and we can assert with confidence that our literature will no longer sing the old style songs of the *Bhakti* movement, with its inseparable erotic fusion, nor will a new *Sāmāna* arise to tell the romantic stories of love, intrigue, and adventure nor a *Premā* nanda shine in the heavens brightening them with literary *dhyanas*, nor will the didactic poetry of the type of a host of minor poets of the last century or two preach the duties of man, or guide the daily life of the layman, asking him not to abuse his *guru*, not to spit in water, not to be eaves-dropping when two persons are talking confidentially and so forth. These times are past and gone, even religious poetry has assumed a new form, and it may assume still newer phases, but will not return to the old type.

Scientific, philosophical and historical literature as also to some extent biographical literature is still poor in our language. The dramatic section of pure literature is also meagre. These deficiencies will be supplied in the future, but there are not enough indications of this in the immediate or near future. Men devoted to original work are few and far between and the country is awaiting the advent of some master minds to unlock the closed doors of these branches of literature.

We have at present a plethora of poetic literature of all shades mostly unfit and therefore unlikely to live and fiction also similar in quality and merit. This will, it seems, eventually readjust itself when some masters rise in our midst but the inferior work will continue to attract a certain order of people and for them it will exist. Such stuff must be placed outside the pale of real literature.

Bangali literature has during recent decades begun to influence Gujarati literature in so far as translations from

*Influence of Bangali literature.* the former are being produced in a comparatively large number. Here and there want of judgment is visible in the selection of the original, but as a rule the best has attracted the efforts in our midst. I may, however, be permitted to sound a note of warning now. The tendency to borrow from Bengal is on the increase at present and it is considered almost a fashionable thing to say that one knows Bangali. But let us be on our guard, and let not this borrowing habit kill originality.

There are certain new forces and ideals at present trying to force

*Certain new forces and ideals influencing our literature—social service and political aspirations.* their entrance into our literature and, if handled by powerful and skilful hands, they may add a new aspect to our literature. These are the ideals of social service and political aspirations. Hitherto we have not been favoured with masters who could by a mere touch turn these

ideals to artistically literary use. But the time may come for such men to enrich literature by work in this direction. And yet I make bold to state that so far as poetic literature is concerned—and in this

*Permanent ideals of universal value vs. narrow aspirations.* phrase I include prose works of fiction and the like also—so far, I say, as this pure literature is concerned—the eternal ideals of life and death, human suffering and human feelings, must occupy a distinct and superior place in the

materials on which literature has to work, and viewing pure literature in this light, all ideals which restrict the human heart to individual nations, races, castes and the like, and their parochial aspirations, are sure to fall into a groove of narrowness of mind and heart and any attempt to place these above the permanent ideals of humanity at large, is calculated to stifle pure literature and as such must be viewed with disapprobation. Whether Gujarati literature has in store such a lowering of its value it is difficult to say, but looking at the history of literature all over the world, I have no fears in this direction and

believe in the permanence and eventual domination of pure literature dealing with eternal ideals of humanity.

So much for literature. As regards language, let us for a moment glance at the present indications and facts. As stated in a previous Lecture,<sup>1</sup> there are three main territorial divisions where Gujarātī, as spoken now, receives some distinctive shades—(1) Kāthiāvādi, (2) Gujarātī proper, and (3) the Surat tract (in which I include Surat and Broach District). I leave aside the minor divisions and distinctions of Gujarātī proper into Chavotira, Pātana and Palanspura and the Ahmedabad tract.

*Language: Present territorial divisions of Gujarātī, the peculiarities in their language.*

Now, the spread of education on a uniform basis, the closer contact between Kāthiāvādi, Gujarātī proper, and Surat since the increase of Railway communications, the migrations and travels of people of the cultured classes from one part to another,—all these factors working for interprovincial unification have told and will tell on the linguistic side of the peoples' life. Just call to mind the sharply distinguishing local peculiarities in language which marked the three main divisions, take Surat first—

(1) ગી, કરીંગ, કર્સે etc. were spoken, and even sometimes in former times written in books, as ગી, કરીંગ કર્સે &c., no cultured Surati will use this now, certainly not in literary writing, and even in spoken language it is fast disappearing, if not altogether discarded, so far as the cultured classes are concerned.

The same remark applies more or less to the following peculiarities,

(2) આદ્યો, દાદ્યું, etc. in Surat for આદ્યો, દાદ્યું &c. in main Gujarātī. This instance of દ્યસ્યદ (metathesis, i.e. interchange of letters) is now looked upon as uncultured and unfit for classical writing and cultured speech.

1. See Lecture II, P. 65 and note

(3) आवते, करते, etc for आवत, करत &c in the conditional forms of verbs known as विद्यातिपत्ति in grammatical technology,

(4) लाखतुं for नांखतुं,

(5) कातेर, तासेक, etc for कातर, तासक &c,

(6) माटीदो (= a male),

(7) पोरयो, पोरी (= a boy, a girl), (allied to Mārāthī पोरणी, पोरगी through Khāndeshī and Bhil tongues). Now note a few Kathuāvādī peculiarities in words, forms etc

Kāthiāvādī pe (1) का=केम (Guj proper), What? How?  
peculiarities. e.g. का लाभशकर! केवां लाडु जमयो!

(2) ओत्युं=पेल (Guj proper),

(3) झालो=चालो (Guj proper), झाल्युं in Guj. proper means "to shake, to move"

(4) हाडं=बस (Guj proper), Length! (as an indeclinable),

(5) मां (prohibitive participle) as in आवीश मां when Guj proper would be आवीश मांद,

(Note -In Gujerāt proper मां is used in the language of poetry),

(6) प as a भाववाचक termination (to form abstract nouns),  
Guj proper has पण or पय,

e.g. ओऱप, Guj. proper ओऱापयुं

ब्दाटप, „ ब्दाल (ब्दालापयुं is hardly idiomatic),

म्होऱप, „ म्होटपण, म्होटापयुं etc etc

(Note-Si. Hem. VIII-17-437 gives पण as an *ōdesa* in Apabhramśa for त्व or ता (Slr). alternatively with त्वण Dr Sir R. G. Bhāndārkar derives पप (Apabhramśa<sup>2</sup>) from त्व and पपण from त्वन (See his Philological Lectures p. 194).

This त्वन is a Vedic termination, e.g. कवित्वन wisdom, जनित्वन wife-hood पतित्वन the state of a husband, चृष्टत्वन manliness, मर्त्यत्वन, महित्वन, वस्त्वन, सपित्वन, and the like

Thus while Gujarātī proper has taken पण, पयुं from the Vedic

2 I do not find पप in Apabhramśa in Si. Hem.

स्वर्ण (through Apabhramsa पण) Kāthiāvādi has taken प from the classical Sanskrit स through प्प (Apabhramsa).

Only in some cases Gujarāti has प, but only as पी (Masc.), e.g. धंपापी, रंतापी, पपदापी, शृङ्गापी (from Hindi), in the third of these words the sense in addition to abstraction is deprecatory, पपदापी meaning-acting and talking as if one was old, though young, पृष्ठपृष्ठ meaning simply 'old age'.

६. (7) मर-लो (Guy. proper), Let (as in "Let him go," मरने जाएँ लो ने जाए (Guy. proper)

[ Note—मर्ले is also used in Kāthiāvādi and rarely in Gujarāti proper, being more polite in its intrinsic sense (मर्दु=good, मर्ले locative=used as an indeclinable) than मर which is an indeclinable formed from the imperative 2nd person singular of मरु (मर्यु)=to die.

The turning of an imperative form of a verb into an indeclinable is also seen in जोऽलो ! (which also is due to a similar process in English), जो hero being used as a mere particle. It further travels into the regions of mere पादशूल words possessing no meaning (like रे, लोउ etc.) in poetry e.g. आसो मासो गारु दुःखमनी रारय जो.

This formation from the imperative form of a verb curiously harmonises with the formation of लो, only it is from the 3rd person singular of the theoretical root ल्—भस्तु (Skr), लत्—a possible form="let it be" ]

This मर must have been observed as a prominent Kāthiāvādi feature which gives rise to the following lines evidently composed by some Gujarāti in words peculiar to Kāthiāvādi language—

मरमर परी वारू फरे, मरमर वरे भौचार ।  
पावटटे पाणी भेरे सोरड केरी नार ॥

(The Soratha woman says 'मर' every now and then in her talk, makes pickles of मरमर (a vegetable root specially used in Kāthiāvādi).

3. Only in गुरातन, रसात्ति and one or two other words used the रस (changed to रात) has changed to पन बोल सन भावाग्नि तन.

vâda for pickling) and draws water from wells with her feet (referring to wells with Persian wheels<sup>4</sup> turned by the feet).

(8) ઊ as the plural termination of feminine nouns—ending in ઈ and અ e.g. ગાંધી, મહીંદી, ઘોડીંદી, &c., વાનું (as in the verse cited above under (7), or as in ઊંઘો ગઢ ગિરનાર વાસ્થીંદે વાનું કરે !

(9) માધે=ઉપર, above A man from Guj. proper would understand માધે as માધા ઉપર, 'on the head.' મેડા માધે મીદડો ચઢ્યો = 'a cat has climbed up the upper storey.'

"કાં ! આજ ન્યાતમાં હું જન્યા ?"—"લાદુ ખને માધે દૃષ્ટ,"

This means "લાદુ—(sweet balls) and on the top of it (by the side of it) milk,"—not—"લાદુ in the diners' mouths and milk (poured) on their heads."

(10) ટાણું In expressions like આ ટાણે="at this time," દું ટાણે="at that time"

In Guj. proper ટાણું has a special sense—a festive or ceremonial occasion

(ટાણું is a further evolution of ટાંકણું (ં being elided)=a coinciding occasion, ટાંકણ (Skr.)

(11) સૂકું, જાણું, પારો, &c. for સૂકીંણ, જાણું, પણો, જરો, &c. in Guj. proper

(12) રણો, રણો for ધણો, ગણો

(13) મીદડી=વિલાડી, 'a cat'.

The word is most probably derived from વિલાડી, એ and મ being changed to રા and ન respectively, મીનદી, the intervocalic ન being then changed to nasalized દું, as in પાંદરું from પનદરં—પણદરં (Apabhramsa), પણદકમ (Skr.), વાંદરો from વાણરઠ—વાનરઠः and the like.

(14) ગઢ=ગાંધિ molasses, the ઢ in ગૃહ (Skr.) being changed to ધ under the general rule, and not to ધફ under the exceptional rule.

4. Bucket-wheels,—*norias* used in Spain, Syria and Palestine generally worked by animal power.

- (15) મદેરેં=મદોં, (વરીણ) elders.
- (16) ઈ=આ this.
- (17) ઓ=that.
- (18) યાં=there.
- (19) દી=દિયસ=ા day.

[The resemblance between દી and day (English) is striking and throws a long flash of light over many centuries past, when Sanskrit and its sister language of the Western Aryans sprang from a common source. દી is clearly from દીએ-રિમા-દિયસ (Skr.) from દિશ् (to shine). 'Day' may be similarly traced to દિશ्, but I find the Century Dictionary traces it to પણ ( ? દણ) દૂહ=to burn. This is not to be rejected quite summarily, as the AS does, plur. *dagas*, O. S. *dag*, Goth *daga*; a day, have a *g* (ग) in them, which is more akin to the ણ in દૂહ than to the ણ in દિશ्].

- (20) હાદ કરે-( સાદ કરે ) } = બોલાયે—(hd) calls;
- (21) બરકે } બરકે
- (22) ઓરો = આ તરફ; પાસે; this way; hither; near.

[This word is, however, found used in Gujaratā proper in poetry, upto Dayārāma's time, frequently by Dayārāma—

(a) ઓરો ભાષ્ય ની સાદા પ્રસુ શામદા જો.

(p. 165, *garaff* 3, દયારામહત ભાગસંપદ  
"લિયરામ;" Press edition).

(b) ભાષ્ય ઓહોરા ભાડેલા એન યાત કઢુ દું છાની રે.

(P. 204, page 77 Do)

(c) ઓહોરા ભાષો મી કંધું ભાડોની રંગીણા રદ્દમાણા.

(P. 207, page 94 Do)

Brahmananda has

(d) ઓરા ઓરા ભારોને રે કે મોરન મરમાણા.

(This last may be a pure Kshibividism as Kshibividā was his land of adoption).

I need not multiply instances. I recognise that out of the above instances, some may be local even inside the peninsula of Kāthiāvāda, i. e. peculiar to Mālāra or Soratha, or Zāliāvāda, or Gohilvāda, and so forth. I also concede that several of these words are studiously eschewed in cultured language and literature. None the less these mark out the province, and till recent times distinctly marked it out from Gujarāta proper. I have dwelt at greater length on Kāthiāvādi peculiarities than on Surati ones for obvious reasons. The Western peninsula till a few decades ago was cut off from Gujarāta proper and its individual features were strongly developed and in a great many forms, whereas Surat, besides being much smaller in area than Kāthiāvāda, though somewhat detached from Gujarāta proper, was less so and came earlier in contact with it and its individual features were fewer, and confined to the uncultured classes more than was the case in Kāthiāvāda. As noted above, distance and detachment are annihilated now with the advent of railways and telegraph and interprovincial intermingling has brought in a new state of things. Kāthiāvādīs are sending out in large numbers students into Gujarāta proper and migrations of the cultured classes are a noteworthy feature. All this intercommunication is a potent unifying factor, as also the silent acceptance of a more or less common literary standard of language, as a result of the first factor. The Suratis have long given up the *h* sound when it is the recognized *śikhā* one, in literature and even in every day speech. Kāthiāvādīs are also steadily getting over their angularities in linguistic features visibly in written literature, imperceptibly and a little slowly in spoken language. As an indication of this I may mention a recent incident. The word પોરો was, and even now is, pronounced with a broad ઓ in પો thus-પોરો, I have known this from personal contact with several Kāthiāvādīs of different sub-provinces (They pronounced પોરો also with a broad ઓ e. g. એ મા ભારો તો પોરો.) When I questioned some young Kāthiāvādī friends as to this broad sound in પોરો, some said "No, we always pronounce it with the narrow ઓ—પોરો. Some Kāthis or Gehilvādīs may be sounding it broad, we Mālāris don't"; while others themselves Mālāris, admitted that they'

sounded the broad ओ in घोरो. The reason is clear. Peculiarities of this kind are fast disappearing in cultured language,—thanks, amongst the forces noted above, to the fact that the education of Kāthiāvāḍa was under the guidance of teachers from Gujarāṭa proper for a number of years and young men, who were not born when this broad sound was all-prevalent, or whose observation is not keen and who live in the new atmosphere of unification, naturally believe that the sound did not and does not exist in their land. Another little fact may be noted; the peculiar Kāthiāvāḍi accentuation of words—not like the Vedic, nor like the English accent or the Hindi accent, but a sort of cross between accent and emphasis, distinguished the people of the peninsula. Where a resident of Gujarāṭa would say in a colorless way—ए तो पात्र नष्टि the Kāthiāvāḍi said ए तो पात्रात् नष्टि.

This accentuation has slowly and steadily been disappearing and the young Kāthiāvāḍis now sojourning in Gujarāṭa and Bombay talk as if they were never to the manner born.

I have hitherto dwelt on one side of the unifying process,—the shedding off of the Kāthiāvāḍi features. Of the other side, Gujarāṭi proper taking to itself Kāthiāvāḍi peculiarities there is not much to be said; obviously it is a question of casting off of local peculiarities and somehow or other Gujarāṭi proper is regarded as the centre of the standard language, and it has no angular features to cast off. However, I must note one or two features which Gujarāṭi proper has transferred to itself, is transferring to itself, from the language of Kāthiāvāḍa.

(1) One is the word "एि" which has been, and is still, in use in the language of poetry in Gujarāṭi proper. In quoting from myself I do not expect to be accused of egotism, as it is rather a case of admission which will carry special force. I just now think of a line in my *Kusumā-mūldi* —

ओ ! फँ भूँ तुँ ! विन निराँ ए भूँ वि एँ.

(P. 46, 1. 9)

Besides, along with this admission I imply that this use was the result of a similar use by other writers of poetry ancient and modern.

(2) લઈને in the sense of લીધે=owing to, in consequence of, - e.g. અનેક કારણોને લઈને જગતમાં દુધની રત્યાતિ અને સ્થાન હે.

This use is of a comparatively recent date. I believe this word did not occur in this sense in Gujaratā proper before 1900 V. S or thereabouts. I might venture to say, it is hardly twenty years old. Someone brought it from Kathiāvāda and used it and others followed suit. It has not quite gained a recognised place in current literature yet, writers of note do use it, and I have no quarrel with them. Personally I am not in love with it, and I have my reasons, prejudico has no part in it. But if in course of time it receives the stamp and hall mark of cultured use, I shall not if I live so long, go into mourning. Many an underserving word has risen into rank before and this may do so in future.

I have on set purpose taken no note of subsections like Charotara and Patana in this review of present conditions.

*Subsections like Charotara and Patana purposely excluded* For sounds and forms like ગામિ, કંપિ, તું કાદું, તું જાદ, તું પરાડ, peculiar to Charotara for ગામ, પામ, તું ફોલે, તું જાયલે, તું કરોલે, or તુણ etc. in Patana for વાણ &c. are hardly to be considered

in this discussion where cultured language, and local peculiarities of a certain standard are being dealt with.

Having noted the present progress from the near past as above, we can venture to forecast that the unifying process noticed above is bound to make further advance and bring together the three sections of Gujaratā—Kathiāvāda, Surat, and Gujaratā proper, into a close unity in the matter of a standard literary and cultured language.

By the side of these sectional languages and the future outlook *Pārsi Gujarāti* regarding them, a consideration of Pārsi Gujārāti, as the name goes, may not be out of place.

But there is a certain manifest distinction in the relative conditions. While Kāthiāvādi and Surati are divisions of language which are none the less essentially related to the main standard language, Parsi Gujarāti, owing to various reasons, is an isolated factor whose relation with the standard language is peculiarly external. I shall not enter upon any elaborate discussion of this subject, but only take into account the broad features which divide Parsi Gujarāti from the Standard Gujarāti.

These can be summed up under five heads —

- (1) Prevalence of words taken from Persian and too often a mixture of such words,
- (2) A horror of ordinary Sanskrit words
- (3) If Sanskrit words are used, a misuse of them, or their mixture,  
(Under this head will come the unsuitable juxtaposition of Persian and Sanskrit words)
- (4) A large influx of words and grammatical forms taken from the rural speech of the Surat District,
- and (5) A disregard of Gujarāti idiom, especially in translating English phrases and ideas

I will not detain you with illustrations, copiously though they could be given. This is not the place for doing it. Only a few samples may be given — :

#### *Under head (1)*

उप्योग for उपयोग, रमण्य for रमणीय, उत्सन्निति for उत्सन्ति (formed as a curious cross between उत्सन्ति and उत्सन्निति), द्विष्ट for द्विष्टिप, वृत्ताकर्त्तुण for वृत्ताकर्त्तुण, शृदा for श्रद्धा and used in a wrong sense as प्रश्रुदी शृदा, meaning भृति)

The following linguistic monstrosities from well-established journals will present a striking picture —

- (1) विष्वास (for विश्वास) 'Sān-Loke', May 1893

p. 91, col. 1, 1

(2) દરિદ્રિતા (for દિદ્રિતા) Do. p. 96, col. 2, l. 22.

(3) તતસ્પ (for તટસ્પ)  
and used in a wrong sense  
for સ્તવધ, સ્પિર, તતસ્પ જ્ઞાન, Do, p. 97, col. 2, l. 34.

(4) દીપમૂડ (for દિષ્મૂડ  
દિમૂડ) Do p. 112, col. 1, l. 20.

(5) અંગીકાર (for સ્વીકાર-  
admission,) Do. p. 114, l. 5 from bottom.

(6) અઘટિ (for અઘટિત), Do. p. 115, col. 2, l. 22.

(7) સત્તાબ્યાપી (for સત્તાબ્યાપી), Do. p. 117, col. 1, l. 22.

These are picked up from a host of similar atrocities, due to ignorance, false ambition and the like.

I cull two instances from a Parsi writer in "Visami Sad", September 1916

(1) ભિનારવાળા દિવસો for 'wet days', p. 450, col. 1.

(2) તે એક નાજુક બાંધાની સુંઘરતી હારી (where the word 'beauty' is translated literally), p. 451, col. 1

These instances fall under head (5).

In a wall advertisement along the Queen's Road (Bombay) in 1920 A. D. I read the following —

"સીનેમાની ચરતી પદવી" (for ચરતી પદવી), here the dental દ and cerebral ટ are curiously interchanged.

Under (4) may be noted words like કાની and પણે (both for પેઢાં-like,) &c. ઘેર for ઘર will also fall under this class. In proper Gujarati ઘેર in locative of ઘર, the Parsis have ઘેરે in the locative, or ઘેરો. This last form may be traced thus ઘરયા (ઘરફીલું + યા loc. termin.), then ઘયરા by metathesis, ઘેરો. The pure Guy. loc. ઘેર is a curious case of metathesis from ઘરે.

Under head (5) I may note the following —

(1) "On the one hand" and "on the other"—English idiom literally rendered as એક હાપ પર and બાંગા હાપ પર, which

offends the idiom-sense of a Gujarati, who would use એક પણ  
and એવી પણ to convey the idea in idiomatic Gujarati,

- (2) "How are you?" is rendered by Parsis by 'કેમ હોય' literally, whereas the correct idiom is 'કેમ હોય' (literally—"how is it (with you)?")
- (1) "A golden opportunity" is rendered by "ધૂનેરી તક" Correct Gujarati for it would be ધૂનાના મૂલની તરફ, ધૂનેરી only means "gold-colored," or "gilt with gold"
- (4) "The wind blows" is rendered as પરન પૂછે, the correct rendering is પરન વાયદે

Even Hindu writers are infected by these non-Gujarati forms of expression, the reason being a desire for light-hearted imitation and want of sturdiness of linguistic conscience, which makes men forget that words and expressions have an atmosphere and associations of their own which can not be shaken off by the use of substitutes and equivalents which are not equivalents. Consequently માર્ગ મારણ or "mother-tongue" will drop all its value by coining the Gujarati expression માર્ગ જીવણ.

I must recognize the very laudable efforts of writers like the late B. M. Malabârlî, Mr. A. F. Khabardâr, Mr. P. K. Tâtsporevâlî and others whose writings are marked by a comparative purity of their Gujarati hardly tinged with Pârsi Gujrati traits. But they are in a marked minority, the bulk of Pârsi writers not being with them in act or heart. However, the Pârsi community has furnished exceptions in the shape of Sanskrit scholars like the late K. R. Sheriarji Bharuchâ of the old school and scholars of the modern type like Prof. Irach S. Tâtsporevâlî, Mr. S. K. Ilodîvâlî, Mr. G. K. Darmin and Mr. J. L. Sanjînâ. It is also to be noted that at present a study of Sanskrit is quietly encouraged in a limited circle of Pârsi scholars. I also note that a desire has sprung up on the part of certain Pârsi writers to discard the defects of Pârsi Gujarati as much as possible and also that during the last twenty years the language in Pârsi writings, even in newspapers, discloses

Attempts to advance, how so much faintly, towards the classical Gujarātī type. But all the same they are greatly handicapped for want of identification with Gujarātī life and thought, which alone can give them the power to appreciate the value of associations which cling about words and phrases—which are an influencing factor in the origin of idiom.

I have not yet mentioned a special feature in Pārsī Gujarātī. It comes as a result of two combined tendencies (1) a tendency to counteract the Pārsis aversion to conjunct consonants, and (2) a tendency to imitate wrongly the conjunct consonant—in certain grammatical forms which the Pārsi presents by breaking up the conjunct in the form of a *svara-bhāṣī*. Thus, where Hindu Gujarātī has અન્યો, બોલ્યો, Pārsī Gujarātī has અન્યિયો, બોલિયો (These latter formations, nearer to the Apabhramṣa state in past participles are even now admitted in Hindu Gujarātī verse, as reminiscences of the Apabhramṣa stage, but are tabooed in present day prose.) With a desire to adopt the correct type, the Pārsi writer misapplies the idiom and says કંયે, ભાણ્યે, for કર્તિયે, આપિયે. Thus, in a leading Pārsi paper of 28th January 1916 I find

(1) ચેઠ દ્વારામાર્દ નવરીજનીના સંદૂણોની શું તારીખ કર્યે?

(2), તેનો સંદેશ જાર આપ્યે.

'Looking to the language of the more permanent literature of the Pārsis, it is still far, far, removed from classical Gujarātī, and the want of some unifying influence will continue to be so persistent that the prospects of a closer approach between classical Gujarātī and Pārsī Gujarātī in the near future are unhappily not very bright. I say this in no spirit of discouragement. It is my duty and business simply to note existing conditions and facts and base my forecast thereon. A good deal will depend upon well-directed and systematic efforts on the part of the Pārsis themselves, much as they may blame the Hindu writers for writing Sanskritized Gujarātī. Some of my Pārsi friends are ready to accept the language of *Karma Ghelo* as a standard. If they only try to follow that standard the gulf between Pārsi and Hindu Gujarātī will be practically bridged.'

I would add Navalarâma's name. If they study *Acarâgagrântâdhâra* and keep that as a model they will find their task as easy as in the case of *Karana Ghelo*.

Even if the charge of writing Sanskritized Gujarâti levelled against Hindu writers be partly well-deserved, it is not the stock of words but the constitution of language and structure of grammatical forms, as also the intellectual attitude towards rendering of idioms, in short the essence and not the accidents of language, that constitute the difficulty. It was this fundamental divergence between Hindu and Pârsi Gujarâti which many years ago led the late Kavi Dalapatarâma to write the following trenchant lines against Pârsi Gujarâti:

<sup>1</sup> ચૌદામાં દુદાણી મદારાણી ગુજરાણી વાણી,  
દુદી અદેરા, દુદી દીદી ગુદેગાણી,  
પગેદી પાણેદુદી તો પાણી મુદેદુદી પદુદી,  
પદી સ્વી તપાદાની તો પદાયા પારદી.

(*Dalapata Kôryô*, I, p. 190)

Dalapatarâma was a writer who could not have been accused of highly Sanskritized style.

This discussion suggests the rather thorny question of Sanskritized Gujarâti versus simple Gujarâti. We may leave the digression into Pârsi Gujarâti now, and come to the merits and prospects of this feature in Gujarâti of the present day. The history of this style of writing is not old. The old poets did occasionally in *lulgî* in a free use of *taâsîna* words. But the words they used had the stamp of long usage and familiarity, and theirs was not a style encumbered with a heavy load of new and *taâsîna* words. It was only during the period about 1970 A. D. that isolated efforts gave rise to a new style of Sanskritized Gujarâti, which was different in its nature, in that it coined Sanskrit words and phrases of an unfamiliar stamp. I pass over half-educated attempts at Sanskritization like the monstrous hybrid એષાર્ટ્ટ્રેસ્ય found in a writing of a so called *Sâstrî* in a newspaper article. (See the Guj-

rātī "of 20th June 1915, p. 1084, col 2, l. 10 from the bottom ) Later on it developed a new phase and adjectives and past participles from their *tatsama* stock were used with Sanskrit affixes colouring the feminine gender or masculine plural number in an unnatural manner. For instance,

(1) रत्नाकर संस्कृतसमा एक ज खानीमार्पी आवेदा x x शब्दो  
वपराई एकता वर्धमाना थने.

(*Sāthi-nā sāhitya-nā digdarsana*" p. 43.)

(2) गुजरातीनी दे मोटी सहोदरा भाषाओ-हिंदी तथा मराठी-ना प्रंथो  
बाटवोप लिपिमां छद्रापिता पाय छे x x x गुजरातीनी प्रायः  
समानाकारा अने शास्त्रीया एवी बाटवोप लिपि,.....

(*Ibid*, p. 166)

This was named by the advocates of the style प्रत्ययान्तरा शब्दी I believe what this clumsy word was intended to convey was that the only difference between Gujarātī and Sanskrit would be that the Gujarātī case terminations for nouns and conjunctival terminations for verbs were to be preserved in use to mark out Gujarātī from Sanskrit. This is borne out by the following sentence which comes immediately after the one in instance (1) given just above—  
एम थये विमकिना रूपना अने घातुना रूपना प्रत्ययोपांज मात्र भेद रहेंगे.

In the very nature of things such a style carried with it its own condemnation and doom. This style has been caricatured by Ramanabhāi M. Nilakantha in his master-piece of satirical work, *Bhadrambhadrā*. The style has not caught, and there is no occasion for predicting its future for it is an isolated flame which will soon burn itself out.

But another kind of Sanskritized style has come into existence since 1880 A. D. or thereabouts,—which promises to keep its hold on literary Gujarātī. It discards the artificial elements of the last-named style, and draws upon Sanskrit vocabulary for words already bearing the stamp of use, and also for words to be utilized in coining suitable new expressions necessary for the embodiment of new ideas and ideals brought into our life and activity by the contact with Western civilization. This style is thus not an artificial engraftment

on the language, but a natural growth and this itself would furnish a sufficient answer to the objections to the style which are advanced by certain European Missionaries and scholars. I recognize that even in this style there is a latent danger of overburdening the language with Sanskrit words of an unfamiliar nature and clumsiness in their expressiveness or sense-potency, in fact a danger of reverting to the artificial style started in the early seventies of the nineteenth century A. D. But, if I read the signs of the times aright, a reaction against this phase is secretly forming and gathering strength and the danger will soon disappear. All the same, this much can be safely said by way of a forecast in this matter that the future will see a larger use of *tatsama* words in our language, i.e. the language of written works, and occasionally the language of cultured conversation, but not in a manner unnatural or pedantic. If any forceful individuality unexpectedly arises as an uncalculable power and creates a new style and carries the majority with itself, we can not take such an accident into account. But such apparent accidents are bound to be really the outcome of the surrounding conditions. However, we need not trouble ourselves with distant and imaginary possibilities.

This is the forecast I venture to make as a whole. It deals

*Future morphological word-changes not probable* entirely with the vocabulary aspect of the Gujrati language, and totally leaves apart the phonological or morphological side. For, as far as

I can foresee, no further changes in this direction seem likely to take place. Interverbal changes are now final, the evolution from પીઠ પીઠ-પીઠો is completed, or from પરિષ્ઠ-શ્રી-શ્રી-શ્રી into શ્રી (શ્રી). The phonetic forces have apparently finished their activity. Terminations also have crystallized themselves into a finished shape. The oscillations of analytical and synthetical formations too, are not likely to come into play any more — unless it be in a future, far, far, away.

This forecast does not imply a violation of the principle of progressive evolution, the progress whereof we noted in our survey of the language covering the past nine centuries. For, evolution has a goal after all. The human form is full-grown

*The principle of progressive evolution is not violated*

type of the mango tree, the different forms of animals that have assumed a definite shape, — all these have attained a finished form, and it would be unnecessary to expect further changes, the type is formed and finished. New environments and new forces may come — we do not know what will happen then, for we do not know what those forces and environments will be. New racial mixtures may affect the morphology of our language. But we can not take into account unknown conditions. We can judge the possibilities only on the strength of the known or knowable conditions, and this we have attempted to do. We can, however, state with some confidence that the outlook of our political history is against any new racial admixture in the possible future. As I said in a previous lecture, the principle that history repeats itself means only this that, given a certain set of conditions and causes, certain effects will necessarily follow. In the case of our forecast about the Gujarati language there is no occasion, so far as our vision can penetrate into the future, for a repetition of the causes which gave rise to phonetic decay and morphological changes.

My labours are for the present concluded, and in concluding this series of lectures here, may I strike a personal note? The uppermost feeling in me today is one of gratefulness to you all for the very patient and courteous manner in which you have listened to a necessarily dry treatment of a dry subject. If you have found anything interesting in it, it must be due entirely to the interest you take in the subject. I am myself conscious of many shortcomings in these Lectures, due to my own limitations which I am ready to recognise, and to unforeseen circumstances which handicapped me in my work. The time at my disposal for preparing these Lectures was very short and in consequence I could not collect and study sufficient materials or compress my remarks artistically. But for the possession of my notes taken and preserved for another work, and my self-imposed study of the subject for the last thirty years, I would not have ventured to undertake this unequal task. You must have thus noticed several signs of hurried special preparation, defects due to a limited choice of field of inquiry, and a certain incom-

pleteneess in the whole \* All I can ask is that you will take the good with the bad, reject the latter and accept the former. I only hope that others will be stimulated and feel inspired to take up the work left by me and pursue the labours in this interesting field of research and throw fresh light on the subject. That will be my best reward.

I cannot sit down without sincerely thanking merciful Providence which has enabled me to carry this series of Lectures through to its conclusion.

FINIS

---

\*This incompleteness has, to some extent, been remedied in preparing these lectures for the Press by numerous additions, recasting and revision.

## ADDENDA

Page

33 At the end of para before (ii)—

Add:

(i) *Silavati-Rdesa* (V. 8 1700) 11

- (1) माचे, deriveable from मत्,
- (2) माच्यो in two places
- (3) {

This furnishes an additional piece of evidence.

दृश्य मंदिरमां प्राप्ते III-ix-9.

(ii) प्राप्ति is used in the sense of दृष्टि (=वृद्धिका), as, for example, in देनामां कांड प्राप्ति (or दृष्टि) मध्यी. This will incidentally support the derivation of दृष्टि from प्राप्त्.

186 At the end (after VIII. (g)), add:

(i) परय दूरं हु दुरं पर हेज

(Dhlo; *Scarūpa, Mana-scarūpa* VI-5)

(k) एही जागमो माता सर्वं को नहीं आणे हेज

(Bhālaṇī: *Dakoma-shandha*, p. 211, l. 4.  
quoted at p. 112 of Kāmālāl C. Modī's Essay  
on Bhālaṇī).

(l) हेज परी नारी तदा रे अवर्द्धित प्रिय नेट

(*Silavati-no-Rdesa*, v. 8 1700, IV-i-17).(m) निरपे नेह परी दोषने रे, नारा हेजन्तु नरये राय रे  
(*Ibid.* VI-ix-14).

(Note: रेज is used occasionally in the sense of इतं (it) turning its sense to इतं), e. g.

जे वहे पोतामारी ऐ तेज, ते भांतरदं न सहे हेज

(Akho: *Chittatrichandra-Samvedha*; 96).

185 After instance giving लौहिक यक्षा—add:

वर्षीष्ठ अपरि पिको वैष्ठ पंपर माम

(*Vimala-Prakarita, Chulid*, st. 165)

221 Delete the words in the midst of my weeping, and Substitute and whence came the tears?

311 After 1. 3 add  
 (e) के रुटे के अटे न आप (Akho Chhappā, 261)  
 (f) के आळसे के कोप पयो (Ibid, „ 665) .

312 Under p. 178 strike off स्वेजसाज from class (a) and put it under class (c), as स्वेज as well as साज are both from सहज (repeated variants).

313 15 After (7) etc add  
 Also Akho. Chhappā, (a) 206 क्यां थां कर्म; (b) 226, गोविंद था रक्षो; (c) 262, क्यां थो अवसर; (d) 357 घटकर्म येवथो जाय; (e) 397, सो भोक्षण थो आपो य बश्यो; (f) 414 पण कोण कियांथो अलगो पद्यो.

313 At the end add  
 This idiom must be prevalent in Premananda's time, for Ślavati-no-Rāsa (v. a. 1700) has सती निद्राने था (where निद्राने=निद्राने माटे) IV-v-7.

313 After instances (6) under p. 185 add  
 (7) कि उंदर कि पद्यि भीव (Vimla-Prabandha, V, 22)  
 (8) कि विपवा कि दायि कि सारिदिणी दु.धणी (Ibid, V, 19)

339 After 1. 10 add  
 (5) "Members of a family" is rendered by इदुम्बना सभासदो mixing up the sense with members of a society and the like where सभासदो would be appropriate,—"sitting in a meeting"

## INDEX A.

( The figures of reference indicate pages, n=foot-not )

### Authors and Authorities.

<p>Abu Zain, 202.</p> <p>Akho, 44, 107, 116, 128, literary estimate of 232, his મફિ 235, his ધારન compared to નરભી મેરીના ધારન and મફિ 236.</p> <p>Al Beruni, 23n, 193, 194, 196, 202</p> <p>Al Masudi, 202</p> <p>Arnold F. V. (Dr.) 282n</p> <p>Autechert (Dr.) 17n.</p> <p>Bahrain Laxmidhara 50</p> <p>Banarsi das, 161</p> <p>Bankim Chandra 56</p> <p>Besmea, on analytic and synthetic nature of languages 79-81, 82, 84, 86n, 92, 147n, 154n.</p> <p>Bhagwanlal Indraj, 201n.</p> <p>Bhalana, 9, 37, 60, 62, 68, 69, 74, 94, 95, 117, 189, 202, 204, literary estimate of 219 23</p> <p>Bhindarkar D. R. on Nāgmas 10n, on Gujarati 183, 195n 199n 201n.</p> <p>Bhindarkar (Dr. Sir) on gen એ 27, 59n on analytic and synthetic nature of languages 78 79, 84, 92, 99, 103, 147n, on the ter એ 179 180n, on the ter એ 164-5, 192</p> <p>Bhattoji Dikshita, 99, 198</p> <p>Bhima 39, 40, 89</p> <p>Bhurrao Bholanath 171</p> <p>Bhoy 15</p> <p>Bholanath Saribhai 144, 145, 186</p> <p>Bilhana 2, 5</p> <p>Bopp, 90r</p> <p>Böhme (Dr.) 182, 197, 200n</p> <p>Caldwell 16-n</p>	<p>Champas V. Udes 276.</p> <p>Charu Bandhopadhyaya 56n.</p> <p>Cunningham 196n</p> <p>Dalal C. D. 6, 13, 17, 20, 23, 44, 103, 117n, 187, 193, 206.</p> <p>Dalapatram 176</p> <p>Dayaram 95, 107, 165, literary estimate of 261, his <i>dindi</i> metre 266.</p> <p>Desai I. S. 203n</p> <p>Desai P. B. 131.</p> <p>Dhiro, lit est of 261</p> <p>Dhruva H. H., on ગીતિકા 17n and 132, on the beginning of Gujarati 190-2</p> <p>Dhruva H. H. (R. D.), on the language of વસ્તુસ્તુતિ 26-29, 34, 98n, on the ter એ 99n on the એ in એ 104n, on the ter એ 107, on the suffx એ 110, on the suffix એ 127, 183; 207; on Apabhramsa tenancy in reti- section 299</p> <p>Diravti A. B. 95, 143, 144, 147</p> <p>Dirvedi M. N. 38</p> <p>Filot 193n, 196n</p> <p>Fleet (Dr.) 17n, 172, 193n, 197</p> <p>Ganapati (author of દ્વારાનાર્થ) 43, 221</p> <p>Grerson, George (Sir) 10, 17n, 22, on cerebral 1 71, 73, on analytic and synthetic nature of Gujarati 82-83, on the suffx એ 124, 126, on Gujarati Apa bhratni 13t, 153, 167, on the antiquity of Gujarati 189-91, on the worth of new Gujarati poetry 273</p>
--	--

Govardhanram M. Tripathi, on the period 1472 A. D to 1573 228-9  
 Hemachandra, his sutras showing Apabhramsa to have been a dead language 2-5, 14n, on तथा 18n, on the genesis of पट्ट्य 32-33, 132-33, 42, 59, on वा 70, on ahi वा 85n, 102 on dat वा 85n, 119 and 127, on देवता  
 Hemahansa, 46, 63, 122  
 Hertel (Dr.) 136, 137, 311.  
 Hirachand K. Kavi 116.  
 Hiuen Tsiang, calls Gujjar as Ku-che-lo 198  
 Hoernle (Dr.) 76, on passivo वराय 89, on the genesis of नो नी-नु 147n; 195n.  
 Hope T. C., on rules of spelling 181.  
 Hopkins (Dr.) 59n  
 Howard (Mr.) 181.  
 Javeri K. M. 208  
 J. D. A. (=J. D. Anderson) 90n  
 Kabir 66.  
 Kalidasa 18n, 235n  
 Karmapa 33  
 Kātyāyana 162.  
 Kavi N. D. 95, 145, 207  
 Keilhorn (Dr.) 195n  
 Kesaava 3n, 62  
 Kesaava H. Seth 275.  
 Khareghat M. P. 124, 104n, 110n.  
 Konow, Sten (Dr.) 3n.  
 La Croze (the Berlin Librarian) 189.  
 Lasseen, 164n.  
 Lāvanyasamayagan: 42  
 Laksmidhara 183.  
 Macdonnel 198  
 Majmudar M. R. 98.  
 Mallinatha 67.  
 Marco Polo 188, 196  
 Markandeya 3n, 9, 10, 14, 59.  
 Mūrān 66, 203, 207, lit. est. of 213-16.  
 Modi J. D. 47.  
 Modi R. c. 10, 204n.  
 Munshi Deviprasad 196n.  
 Nākara 44, lit. est. of 226.  
 Narasinha Mehta, 15n, 64 65, 66, 67, 94, 95, 100, 103, 115, 117, 185, 186, 188, 203, alteration in the language of 203, 207, lit. est. of 208-12.  
 Narmadāśankar 116  
 Navalram 144, 182.  
 Nayasundara 112, 116, 181.  
 Padmanābha lit. est. of 216-18.  
 Pandit S. P. 133.  
 Parekh H. T. 39, 42  
 Premananda, 44, 74 94, 95, 184, 202, lit. est. of 242 f: his borrowing not a blemish 243 f, some works attributed to him are not genuine, reasons 246 ff.  
 Pratama, lit. est. of 255.  
 Prithviraj Rathod 137.  
 Purushottam Mugatram 182.  
 Pushya Kavi 190n, 191.  
 Rajaśekhara 3n, 5.  
 Rajasekhara Sūri 201n.  
 Ramanbhai Mahipatram 302.  
 Rapson 201n  
 Ratnesvara, lit. est. of 252.  
 Raval O. V. 48, 279.  
 Raval S. C. 279.  
 Revaśankar, lit. est. of 255  
 Rishabhdatta 201n  
 Rūshid-ud-din 196n.  
 Itustam Peshotan (Mr) 108  
 Sachau Edward (Dr) 196n 26  
 Scott H. L. (Rev) 278.  
 Samala, 14, 119, lit. est. of 257.  
 Sāstrī (Vrajalal) 2n, 37, 39, 49, 61, 69, 92n.  
 Shelly 238  
 Sivadasa 44.  
 Sivadatta Pandit 197.

Sridhara 196.  
 Somasundara Sūti 48, 113, 173, 175.  
 Sukthankar V. S. (Dr.) 195n.  
 Tessitori (Dr.) on Aṇubhramī 2, 12, 13, 17n, 21n, on एति ter 57-58, 59n, 70, 71-72, on एत्य 89-90, 97, 99, 107, on the term. एति 110, 113, on एति 127, 140, on the Dat. suffix ने 148 152, on एति-एकु 159, 161, 162, on the loc. ter एति 164, 167, 188.  
 Thakor B. K., his metrical astro-  
 cities 293.  
 Tod (Colonel) 197.

Tripathi G. M. 183.  
 " T. M. 42.  
 Tulasi lit. est. of 289.  
 Turner R. L. (Prof.) 16.  
 Vaidya C. V. 59n  
 Vallabha (son of Premanand), 44,  
 lit. est. of 249, Arrow bridge  
 incident discussed 251n.  
 Vālmīki 53n.  
 Viddhanu (son of Mālhe) 15.  
 Vishnudas 44, lit. est. of 231.  
 Visvanathdasi 44, lit. est. of 279.  
 Vyas M. B. 47, 193, 204  
 Wordsworth 234.  
 Williams M. 121.

## INDEX B.

### Books Cited.

Abhimanyu Alkyana (Prem.) 74.  
 105, 135.  
 Adinath charita 11.  
 Akha Bhagat in Vāṇī 116.  
 Akhe Gita 105.  
 Alcyone 67, 187.  
 Andigvīra 50, 63, 102, 104, 109,  
 123, 126, 137.  
 Bālāvabodha 109.  
 Bhagvadgītā 165.  
 Bhaktīmara Bālāvabodha 127  
 Bharata Bāhu bali 153  
 Bhrumari gīta 101, 107, 115,  
 184.  
 Bhrumari gīta (small) 139.  
 Bhuvandip 70, 74.  
 Bombay Gazetteer 193.  
 Brāhma Brāhmaikopanisad 198.  
 Prakāshkāya Jōhāna 203n  
 Bālāvabodha 192.  
 Chai Ishaśvīkhyāna (by Vīraṇa  
 dīsa) 105.  
 Chātūri 97.

Collection of Sanskrit and Pra-  
 krit Inscriptions 188.  
 Comparative grammar 83n, 84n,  
 92n.  
 Dasama skandha (Keśava) 62, 115  
 " (Bhikṣu) 74.  
 Dasi Vaikālikā-śāstra 106.  
 Dhruvākhāna (by Tulasi) 107,  
 53  
 Dvyaśāriya Kāvya 4, 114, 132,  
 176n  
 Early History of the Dekkin  
 201n  
 Encyclopedia Britannica 77.  
 Gauda valī 33n, 132.  
 Gāndīan Grammar 89.  
 Ghāṭyāl Inscription 196, 201.  
 Great Epic of India (the) 115n,  
 59n.  
 Gujarāti Bhāshā no Janma 131.  
 Gujarāti Language and Literature  
 Vol. 1, 33r.

Gujarāti Bhāshā no Itihās, 2, n 37, 39, 49, 61, 69, 72n  
 Gujarāt Śālāpetra 48.  
 Gujarāti Sāhitya Pariṣad  
 (Report of the 5th) 6, 129.  
 Hanumān-Garuda-samvāda, 107.  
 Hāra mālā 107  
 Hari mālā 69, 163, 104, 125.  
 Hṛidaya-Vīra 144, 145  
 Ijīṣṇi (yasna) 50  
 Indian Antiquary 195n.  
 Indukumāra 95, 145  
 Indriya parājaya-sataka 106.  
 Inscriptions of Ushavadāta 201n  
 Imperial Gazetteer of India 190  
 Irregular causal verbs in the Indo Aryan Vernaculars, 73n.  
 Īśvaraprārthanā-mālā 144, 145.  
 J. A. S. (Bengal) 71.  
 J R A S (Bombay) 16n, 90n, 197n, 201n.  
 Kādambarī (Bhālana) 60, 62, 68, 69, 74, 94, 104, 106, 109, 137, 163, 204, 219.  
 Kābrādade-Prabandha 20, 27, 29, 63, 67, 97, 98, 100, 102, 104, 106, 108, 115, 118, 135, 139, 153, 154, 156, 163, 164, 185, 186, 189, 193, 206, 216  
 Kālāngara Inscription 195.  
 Kāntī 38  
 Karpūra-Manjari 3n  
 Kathā-mārit-sāgīm 60.  
 Kārya-Mimīnsā 5  
 Kārya-prakāsa 61  
 Kārya-saṅgrahī (Narasiṅha) 95.  
 Kumārapāla-charita, See Dvya-krāya-kīrya.  
 Kumudīchandrī devasuri-śāsna 117.  
 Kusumamālā 30, 95, 96n 158  
 Library Miscellany, Baroda, 117.  
 Linguistic Survey of India, 10, 17n, 71, 82n  
 Maṭṭasā-Ākhyāna 15n  
 Mādhavānala-dogdhaka-Prabandhā It est of. 224  
 Madhavānala-kāmakandala dogdhaka prabandha 120, 126, 137.  
 Milestones in Gujarāti Literature 208.  
 Mohni-svarūpa (Dayārāma) 95  
 Mugdhabodha-Auktikāni 2, 5, 6, 11, 12, 15, 16, 18, 20, 28, 46, 51, 54, 67, 94, 95, 97, 101, 103, 121, 125, 126, 163, 192, 266, Auktika and not Mauktika 16 f  
 Mudrā Rākṣasa 60.  
 Nalākhyāna (first) 9.  
 (Prem) 95, 157, 182, 186.  
 Nala Damayanti-Rāsa (Megha rāja 102, 118.  
 Nala-Damayanti Rāsa (Nayasaundara) 74, 101, 102, 108, 109, 116, 118, 128, 134, 137. ~  
 Nalopākhyāna (M-hh.) 134.  
 Navala-granthāvali 4, 49, 182n.  
 Neo-Vernaculars of Western India, 17n, 191.  
 Narma-Vyākranā 181.  
 Narma-kośa 187.  
 Naishadhiyā-charita 197.  
 Nāpura-Zankām 143, 157, 171.  
 Nyāya-Manjūtā 63.  
 Okhā-hamna (Prem) 138.  
 Padmāvatī-nī-vārthā 139.  
 Panchākhyāna 103, 109, 111, 114, 119, 136, 137, 139, 141, 155, 157, 204.  
 Panchatāntm 60.  
 Pandavī-gīta 58.  
 Paleography of India 201n  
 Parvata-Pachīśī (Trikamīśas) 138.  
 Parama-jyoti-s-stotra 161  
 Prakandha-chintāmanī 193n.  
 Prabandha-kośa 197.  
 Prabodha-prakāsa 106, 218 19.

Prâchîna-Gurjara-kâvya-saṅgraha. 197.  
 Prâchîna-gurjara-kâvya-Ratnamâlâ 132.  
 Prâkrti-Paingala 12.  
 Prâkrti-Sarvusva Sn, 9, 14n, 59n, 164.  
 Prolegomena to the study of Hegel's Philosophy 169n.  
 Rajam 56.  
 Kâyasthâma (Tol) 191.  
 Kujatarangi 196.  
 Kâsa-Sahasra-Padi. 11, 210.  
 Kuvanta-guri-Râsa 192, n 16.  
 Kuk-Prâkrtisâkhyâ 172n.  
 Kûtabha-deva-dhavalâ-samkhan Jha 161.  
 Rûpachand-Kûvar-no-Râsa 101, 118, 185.  
 Sadaya-Vates-Vita-charita 103.  
 Sâhitya-dargana 61.  
 Sâkuntala 18n.  
 Sâlibhûndra-chaupâ 106.  
 Samalochaka 183.  
 Samam-Râsa 197.  
 Sangrahant-bâlavabodha, 167.  
 Sanksepa-Râmayana 59n.  
 Sarasvatî-Kanthâl-kritana 5, 6.  
 Sir Abutosh Mukerji, Silver Jubilee Volume 86n, 161n.  
 Sadbhâta-chandrikâ 183.  
 Satyapatha-Brahmanas 197.  
 Sub-eing-Saroj 191.  
 Siddh-Hemâ. Sn, 4, 14n, 28, 29, 32, 33, 42, 52n, 70, 87n, 120, 154, 158, 163, 164, 173n.  
 Siddhânta-Kaumudi 165, 119n.  
 Sîlavâlî-no-Râsa 201.  
 Sîtâ-harana Sn, 100, 104.  
 Skanda-Gimâni-Gujârâ, 68n.  
 Song of Jasavanta Songito 71.  
 Subhadrâ-Harani (Prem.) 95, 157, 182, 186.  
 Sudâmâ-Sâra, 98, 106, 108.  
 Sudâmâ Charita (Prem.) 98, 107.  
 Sudâmâkhyâna (Ms.) 105, (Gangâdâsa) 151.  
 Upadeśamâlâ-bâlavabodha 21n.  
 Uvâcâsamâlû-gâthâ, comm on, 111.  
 Uttrigimâlâ 61.  
 Vaishâla-Panchâvâli (1629) 69, (1609) 62, 105, 188.  
 " " (Proso) 74, 155.  
 Vâkyâ-prakâśa-Auktika 17n.  
 Vâmanâkhyâna 105.  
 Vâni-bhûfini 6.  
 Vasanta-vilâs, 20, 41, 47, 84, 100, 120, 127, 177.  
 Vasantotsita 95.  
 Vastupâli-Tajupâli-Râsa 193.  
 Vedic Grammar 198.  
 Veli-Lisan-Rukamanî 137.  
 Vikramânska-lova-Charita, 1.  
 Vimâla-Prabandha 47, 51, 62, 94, 98, 100, 102, 105, 117, 120, 138, 151, 193, lit. cat of 223.  
 Virâgi-Nâmâ 128n.  
 Viramati-Nâtika 144.  
 Virajavali (Prem.) 93.  
 Wilson Philological Lectures (Bhandarkar) 18n, 92n.  
 Yogi-Śâvvîrthâkâya to 111.

## INDEX C

## Subjects discussed

## I

Analytic and Synthetic distinction between 77

Anti-Samprasadana theory 23

Apabhramsa of Hemachandra—the extinction of 2-6

Apabhramsa—stage—its characteristics 51 52

Apherisis 54

(The) Base in Gujarati 141-2

Case terminations (Guj.) synthetic 82 85

Cases—  
    Vocative form 143 45  
    Oblique termination 145 ff

Conjunct  
    —unsimplified 9  
    —simplification of 12 16  
        20 24  
    —simplified 53 54

Gujarati Language  
    —acquisition of the name of 187 92  
    —contribution by Parsi writers 227n  
    —Surati peculiarities in 329  
    —Kathnavadi peculiarities 830 886  
    —*q* as a भाववाचक termination 330  
    पर-टो 881  
    Parsi Gujarati 886 40  
    Sanskritised Gujarati 841

Gujarati Literature  
    Period from Narasimha to Dayarama reviewed 270 ff

—Range of subjects in 270  
    Historical background of the period 271

—Modern period in (from 1880) 272

—Literary ideals in modern 273

—Effect of the contact of West and East on 325

—A forecast of the future of 326

—Influence of Bengali lit on 328

—New forces affecting the 328

Gujaratis 5

Latas 5

Literary estimation of  
    Narasimha 208 12  
    Mir an 213 16  
    Padmanabha 216 18  
    Bhalana 219-28  
    Vimala-Prabandha 223 24  
    Mādhavamala-dogdhala-prabandha 221 6

Nakara 226 7

Viśvanatha Jani 229 81

Vishnudasa 281

Akho 232 39

Tulasi 239 42

Premananda 242 44

Vallabha 249 52

Ratnesvara 252 54

Pritama 255

Revaśankara 255 7

Sāmala 257 61

Dhīro 261 63

Dayarama 264 70

## Metres (Gujarāti).

—Classification of 278.

## The Garabi.

—origin and history of 279.

—Not traceable before Dayārāma 250.

• —Derivation of 280 n  
—distinguished from garabo 281.

—Essential constituents of 281.

## Vedic Metro 282.

—not based on accent and yet having classical rhythm 282 8.

## Classic Metro 283.

## Scheme of મારૂરામ 281.

Sandhi, the rhythmic composition of a metro as against its ગીતિ 284.

## Scheme of મારૂરામ 281.

Present day metres 285ff.

Last syllable of ગીતિ and of the 26 મદ્રદ રસીદીન should be દ્વારા 285-6.

Constituents of ગીતિ, પર etc 286.

—Modern Novelties in 287.

## અદ્યાત્રિમનાતીલય 288.

## સાગરદિપારી 289-9.

## અધ્યાત્રિમારી 289.

## રાધેરાલીન 289-90.

## ગ્રામ 291.

metre-less verses of Nhanlal 292.

સમાજકારીયા or substituting two રૂપાં for one રૂપ 292 5.

New elements in metrical signs 296.

—its source 297.

Gujarāti prosody compared to Persian prosody 302.  
to English „ 302 ff.

## Nāgara-Apabhrāmī 70.

## Nāgara-Brahmanas 90.

## Nasal-softened 53.

Post-Apabhrāmī-stage, its characteristics 52-53.

Passive voice—substitution of આપ for કર 72-75.

Retrospect of the whole work 314-25.

## Surabhrī—people of 5

## Syntax in Gujarāti 166.

Peculiar features of Gujarāti in idiom et cet. 167-184.

Forms of comparison 167.  
દ્વારા—મારૂરામ distinction between, 167.

## Accent 169.

Accent and tīla-distinction between 170.  
ગીતિ—નાતિ—ના 173 74.

## દ્વારા—સમાજ 174.

Negative prefixes ન and અન 175.  
Auxiliary verbs-significance of 176.Double-barrelled words 178.  
Spelling 180 84.

## Upanigara-Apabhrāmī 10.

## Vrachada-Apabhrāmī 10.

Verb (Guj.). a mixture of synthetic and analytic forms 87.

## II

अह अउ. ununited 9.  
Retention of 68.  
changed to व and ओ 69.  
अनर 21 n  
अय-Skr. causal ter. from अय् to  
go 93.  
अरिला (metre) 6.  
आँ-abl ending 109.  
ए-३ (non-final) charged to अ, 69.  
ए-instrumental ter. 81.  
ए-loc. ter. 81.  
ए-आँ 9.  
ओ ending 22.  
पत्वान्त form.-addition of ने to-  
60-61.  
परन् (subjunctive) 87.  
कराय-कर्तु जाय; passive forms 87-90,  
139.  
करण, gender of 14n. 10.  
का-genetive-ending (Hindi) 82.  
किया-विकेष of into किरिया 8n.  
या-Hindi futuro ter.-contraction  
of गत 91.  
युनरात्, usage of the word 22.  
—acquisition of the name  
192.  
—derivation of 199.  
ची-ची-चु-gen- terminations 100.  
उर 18.  
उ, terminal nature of 65 68.

—when came into predominance 93.  
जमली-Equal 115.  
त्व, term, original of gen. च 27.  
तम-तम् ter. 18, 20, 21, 84-25,  
81f, 85 97.  
यकु, abl. appendage 103.  
या, abl. ter. 81-85.  
यर, dat. ter. 124.  
ने, acc and dat ter. 81.  
पदुच्च 32, 33; 32, 133.  
पार-पां, abl. suffix 106.  
पादि-पादि, abl. suffix 106-108.  
प, abl. suffix 107.  
मणी (=therefore) 111-14.  
मुम (मुमने) 118.  
मा, loc. ter. 81.  
रहि, dat. ter. 51.  
र, gen. ter. 98.  
रटर, dat. or gen. appendage 121.  
रेमि, dat. appendage 119. रि (gen-  
itive term.) 130.  
उ, (intervocalic), changed to ए •  
70 72.  
उ (=with) 94.  
उ (=like) 94-97.  
स्य (Skr. future ter.)-a contrac-  
tion of भस्+या 91.  
स्य, abl. ter. 101. •  
हृन् (affection) 117.  
संन्तः, abl. ter. 85.

# ERRATA

## INTRODUCTION.

Page.	Line	Incorrect	Correct
8	13 from the bottom	carries	carry

## LECTURES

Page.	Line	Incorrect	Correct
1	6 from bottom	1st	Its
10	19	language	languages
14	17	सीमा	सीमा
15	n., l. 3	attribute	attribute
19	11	per	for
27	9	पंचम्	पंचम्
32	In the tree, under	पर	परे
33	n. 23	प्रयोगित	प्रयोगित
35	(1), l. 1	No. 22	No 11
43	9	1564=1528	1574=1518
"	15	परि	परि
46	16	Hemachandra	Hemachandra
54	para last; marginal	Aphorisis	Apherisis
70	16	ए	ए
82	16	initial	uninitial
85	n. last but one line	पर	परे
86	6 from bottom	variegated	variegated
87	3	plural	(plural)
"	n. 58, l. 3	participal	participial
"	n. 59, l. last	उत	just
93	(5) under (D)	ए	ए
118		The name of Mahayana should be N. S. 1572— should be shifted down below (g)	
131	15	Add Palanjī before Burjorji.	
134	VII	56	59
140	(B) I	परीक्षा	परिदृश्य
153	(1)	एम	एम

Page.	Line	Incorrect	Correct
156	15	पञ्चदे	चञ्चदे
157	4	लियुगि	कलियुगि
159	(4), 1 2	preceeding	preceding
"	n 11, 1 1	Philologic	Philological
184	Supplement, 1 3	as an instance	as instances
185	II 1 3	II8	128
191	n 10, 1 2	Vol	Col
215	13	ne	one
217	11	a	as
218	7	princes	princess
220	<i>In Specimen (2)</i>		
1 1	read	एणी पिरी	for णए पिरि
1. 3	"	वाणि	" वानी
1 6	"	एकागली	," एक वारलो
"	"	कहू	" कहूं
1 9	"	जीशाह	" जीशाहु
1 10	"	गाहि	" गाहि
1. 11	"	रहून	" रहूनि
1 12	"	विहिथी	" किही विही टुप्पी
—			
Page	Line	Incorrect	Correct
221	12	lord	friend
"	13	my friend	my lord
223	17	Praching	Parching
224	9	Myrraful	Myrraful
240	st. 16, 1 1	पाप	पाप
"	st. 16, 1 1	आहार	आहारे
"	last line	पया	पयों
242	n. 52, 1 3 from		

Page	Line	Incorrect	Correct
253	2	elations	relations
263	specimen (3)		
	st 3 1 2	पारैन	पारैने
264	4th from the bottom	पूर्णा	पूर्णा
265	last in the text	a song	the song
269	n, 6th from the bottom	of	of the
		3	
266	3 and 4	(or आया) in the each दल,	(or of आया in the first दल)
310	5 from the bottom	मन्त्रलि	जमलि
320	5 from the bottom	मन्द	नद
321	para 2, 1 7	सार्, पाह	सार्, पाहु
"	para 3, 1. 1	taibhara	taibhara
322	10	marutha	Marutha
"	20	अन्तर्वंडे	अन्तर्वंड
323	7	दाहिण	दाहिण,
"	13	पूर्ण्य	पूर्ण्य
325	3	1823	1833
"	4	1900	1903
331	4	Hindi	Hindi, उमा
331	n. 3. 1 1	द तत्	पुर्वातन
334	8 from the bottom	pronounced	pronounced there
"	5 from the bottom	पोङ्को	पोङ्को
336	6	thurs	thus
337	5 from the bottom	meaning	(meaning)
339	9	पूर्ण्य	पूर्ण्य